Lectio

STUDIES IN THE TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS & IDEAS

13

Trilingual Learning

The Study of Greek and Hebrew
in a Latin World
(1000-1700)

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BREPOLS

To the memory of Laurent Waelkens

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INTRODUCTION
TRILINGUAL LEARNING IN CONTEXT

In 1517, the Brabant city of Louvain witnessed the foundation of the *Collegium Trilingue* (Three Language College). Funded by means of the legacy of the humanist and diplomat Jerome of Busleyden (d. 1517) and steered by guiding spirit Desiderius Erasmus, this institute offered courses in the three so-called sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which students could attend for free. However, this kind of initiative was not unique to Louvain in the early sixteenth century. In a time span of barely twenty years, Greek and Hebrew were also offered in Alcalá de Henares (near Madrid), Wittenberg, and Paris, among other places. It would not take long before these 'sacred' languages were also on the educational agenda at universities throughout the whole of Europe.

The present volume examines the general context in which such polyglot institutes emerged and thrived, as well as the learning and teaching practices observed in these institutes and universities. Devoting special attention to the study of the continuity, or rather the discontinuity, between the sixteenth-century establishment of language chairs and the late medieval interest in these languages, it brings together fourteen selected papers exploring various aspects of these multilingual undertakings, focusing on their pedagogical and scholarly dimensions. Most of the contributions were presented at the 2017 LECTIO conference *The Impact of Learning Greek, Hebrew, and 'Oriental' Languages on Scholarship, Science, and Society in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, which was organized at the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the foundation of the Louvain *Collegium*

Trilingue. This introduction serves as a brief historical outline with references to the contributions included.

1. *The Study of Greek and Hebrew in Medieval Europe*

The Western fascination with Greek and Hebrew did not come out of nowhere. Although this interest is typically associated with Renaissance Italy, whence it gradually spread to other parts of Europe, at different paces and with varying degrees of success, its eventual roots can be traced further back in time. The Early Christian author Jerome (*c.* 342/347-420) was probably the first to consciously present himself as a trilingual scholar, hinting at the combination of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (Ruf. 3.6); he became a crucial role model for later scholars. Even before humanism became part of mainstream culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, learned men from Romance and Germanic-speaking Europe cultivated an interest in Greek and especially the Semitic tongues out of religious concerns. Most notably, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) had authorized and encouraged the foundation of professorships in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic at the Holy See and at four universities, Bologna, Oxford, Paris, and Salamanca, mainly in order to convert Jews, Muslims, and Oriental Christians to the so-called true faith, i.e. Christianity in its Western form. In particular, the council stipulated the following:

> In order, then, that skill in these languages be attained by suitable instruction, we have stipulated, with the approval of the sacred council, that schools be established for the following languages wherever the Roman curia happens to reside and also at Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca: that is, we decree that in each of these places there should be catholic scholars with adequate knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic. There are to be two experts for each language in each place. They shall direct the schools, make faithful translations of books from these languages into Latin, and teach others those languages with all earnestness, passing on a skilful use of the language, so that after such instruction these others may, God inspiring, produce the harvest hoped for, propagating the saving faith among the heathen peoples. The salaries and expenses of these lecturers in the

> *Roman curia will be provided by the apostolic see, those at Paris by the king of France, and those at Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca by the prelates, monasteries, chapters, convents, exempt and nonexempt colleges, and rectors of churches, of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, of Italy, and of Spain respectively. The burden of contributing shall be imposed on each in accordance with the needs of the faculties, notwithstanding any contrary privileges and exemptions, which however we do not wish to be impaired in other respects.* (transl. Tanner 1990, p. 379-380)

The published text makes no mention of Greek, but Roberto Weiss (1952, p. 1), a specialist of Greek studies in medieval Western Europe, puts forward several convincing arguments which make it likely that Greek was actually included in most versions of the text. It seems, however, that these stipulations were barely put to practice. The university of Salamanca, where official mention was made of a trilingual chair in 1411, seems to have offered sporadic courses of Hebrew and Arabic (Martínez de Castilla Muñoz 2017). In Oxford, funds were raised to get the education started, but these plans seem to have come to a complete halt around 1325 (Weiss 1952). And even though the ambitious language education in the end failed to materialize, the Vienne decree nevertheless remained a source of inspiration, as it was reissued more than a century later at the Council of Basel in 1434.

Yet already half a century before the Council of Vienne, the English Franciscan polyglot Roger Bacon (*c.* 1219/1220-*c.* 1292) was able to produce the first full-fledged Greek grammar which used Latin as its metalanguage, a pioneering work based on Byzantine scholarship (Bacon 1902). Bacon also embarked on a Hebrew grammar project. Although it is unclear whether he ever finished it (see the fragments in Bacon 1902), we do know for sure that Bacon promoted the study of Greek and Hebrew for scholarly reasons: 'knowledge of languages is the first gate to wisdom', he maintained (cited from Van Rooy 2020, p. 28), thus anticipating the typically humanist adage 'Ad fontes!' ('To the sources!') and the emphasis on the study of Greek and Hebrew that went with it. However, Bacon added that knowledge of these languages was also important to convert the 'unbelievers' (Hamilton 2016, p. 17). This missionary zeal would play a less prominent role in post-Reconquista Europe.

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The cases of Bacon and the Vienne Council testify to the fact that enthusiasm for learning Greek and so-called Oriental languages, next to Latin, among Western scholars and clergymen clearly predated the Renaissance. The interest in Greek and Hebrew was inspired mainly by scholarly as well as religious ideas: a desire for wisdom and a better understanding of the Bible text, in addition to the practical application of converting Jews, Muslims, and Eastern Christians to the Western form of Christianity. Other practical concerns also played a role, as Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (2013, p. 429) highlights for the case of Hebrew: 'It appears that in some administrative circles, notably in thirteenth-century England, Christian clerks had a knowledge of Hebrew which allowed them to understand Jewish legal documents'.[1] An interest in ancient literature as such seems to have been largely absent, tellingly illustrated by the case of William of Moerbeke, a thirteenth-century Dominican diplomat and scholar who failed to recognize the opening verses of Homer's *Iliad* while translating Aristotle's *Poetics* from Greek into Latin (Beullens 2019, p. 86).

Overall, the medieval circles in which Greek and Hebrew were studied and cultivated were very small-scale and usually not institutionalized; as a result, they were mostly not part of a long-lasting tradition, and enthusiasts of Greek and Hebrew had to study these languages in private with Byzantines and Jews. From an institutional point of view, the decree of Vienne was the most famous, but not the sole initiative taken. About 25 years earlier, Pope Honorius IV had already made mention of missionaries with a command of Arabic and other Oriental languages. By the start of the fourteenth century, the Majorcan scholar Ramon Lull (1232-1316) had expressed the need to establish a 'studium Arabicum, Tartaricum et Grecum'. Two years before the Vienne Council took place, the Dominicans had made a case for organizing Hebrew, Greek and Arabic language lessons (Weiss 1952, p. 2-3). The convent of Saint-Denis near Paris had a royal privi-

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[1] Olszowy-Schlanger 2013 offers a thematic overview of medieval Christian Hebraism with many further references. For the interest in Greek in medieval (South-)Western Europe, see e.g. Weiss 1977; Berschin 1988; Herren & Brown 1988; Kaczynski 1988; Boulhol 2014.

lege in Greek studies, focused on the texts attributed to the eponymous saint Dionysius the Areopagite (Boulhol 2014, p. 87-96). The neighboring Victorines were one of the monastic orders trying to foster Hebrew studies (Hamilton 2016, p. 18). Barcelona boasted a *studium linguarum*, founded in 1281, where Raymond Martini taught Arabic and Hebrew for missionary purposes to a limited audience (Olszowy-Schlanger 2013, p. 429-431).

Needless to say, Hellenism and Hebraism in early modern Western Christianity did not emerge in a vacuum. There was moreover a continuous Greek and Jewish presence in (South-) Western areas of Europe which preserved and cultivated their ancient heritage. Greek communities lived especially in southern Italy as a result of the Byzantine emperor Justinian's conquests in the sixth century. They were likewise found in several cities on the peninsula, especially the Republic of Venice, a major gateway to Greek lands, large parts of which were incorporated into the Republic's vast maritime empire. Rome, too, entertained contacts with Constantinople, thus ensuring a more or less continuous Byzantine presence in the eternal city. Jewish communities were also found scattered across the Mediterranean coasts and beyond, again with an important role for the Italian peninsula. Members of these communities read, studied, and commented upon the Hebrew Bible, thus ensuring a continuous tradition of Hebrew studies into which many elements from the classical tradition, both Latin and Greek, were embedded (see the contributions of Mariggiò, Wenger, and Melamed in this volume, with further references). Arabic, too, was intensely cultivated in medieval Europe, especially Spain, after it had been conquered for the greatest part by the Muslim Umayyad Caliphate. The emergent Western interest in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic was, therefore, for a large part not simply imported from outside South and Western Europe but got much of its fuel from within its contours. In this sense, the revaluation of these languages and literatures by Western scholars was not a grand discovery of distant cultures but the intellectual acknowledgment of the diversity since long present in Europe. It goes without saying that Western scholars interested in these other learned languages made eager use of the insights and achievements of the strong native traditions of scholarship which Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic all

boasted. As a result, elements from these native traditions often permeated Western discourse on the languages of learning that were their vehicles, as in the case of Jewish ideas on the origin and nature of Hebrew (see Melamed in this volume).

2. *Trilingual Learning in the Renaissance: Rupture or Continuation?*

Despite various medieval attempts scattered across Latin Europe, it was developments during the Italian Renaissance which gave an enormous boost to the study of Greek and Hebrew. Italian humanists resorted to the Greek language and literature as they realized that it would otherwise be impossible to fully understand the revered Roman heritage, both its literature and juridical legacy, and the Christian New Testament in its original version (see Sanchi in this volume). The crumbling Byzantine empire provided Italian scholars with adequate teachers to realize this objective (see Harris 1995 on this migration process in all its broadness). Among the first scholars to arrive on the Italian peninsula and successfully teach the new language was Manuel Chrysoloras (1360-1415), often hailed as the founding father of Greek studies in the West, both by humanists and modern researchers.[2] After a century or so, the refugees from the East were definitively supplanted by professors from the West, their former pupils.[3]

At this turning point in time, around 1500, the hotbed of Hellenism was without a doubt the port town of Venice, then at the head of a major maritime empire including large parts of the Greek lands. It hosted the ambitious – and largely utopian – Νεακαδημία ('New Academy') of Greeks and Philhellenes, where only Classical Greek was to be spoken, a circle also frequented

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[2] See Thorn-Wickert 2006 for a critical biography, relativizing his importance as a teacher of Greek and the number of Hellenists educated by him.

[3] Botley 2010 discusses the grammars, lexica, and textbooks prepared by the Byzantine grammarians and their Western successors up to 1529. Ciccolella & Silvano 2017 offer an eclectic outline of Greek schools and teachers in Renaissance Italy. The most kaleidoscopic picture of Renaissance Greek studies available thus far is Constantinidou & Lamers 2020. Saladin 2000 [2013] offers useful context as well, although we advise to read his work with Pontani's 2002 critical review, which still applies to the barely revised reedition from 2013.

by Erasmus on his travels south.[4] The setting where this band of like-minded scholars worked was the publishing house of Aldus Manutius (*c.* 1449/1451-1515), himself a talented Hellenist and a meticulous editor who took great pains to produce affordable Greek books that were appealing by virtue of both their contents and the esthetics of their typography. Yet Manutius did not limit himself to Greek. In addition to Latin classics and humanist books, his office issued the first printed introduction to the Hebrew language.[5] It was printed in 1501, or slightly earlier, serving as the last part of a grammatical compendium comprising Manutius' Latin manual, followed by a short introduction to the Greek language and basic texts. The book thus constituted the first printed trilingual manual to ever appear. The introduction to Hebrew circulated separately as well, perhaps as early as 1500, and offered the reader a description of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the most important diacritics (vowel marks), their pronunciation, and their combination with the consonants, as well as some basic texts, notably a Hebrew translation of the *Pater Noster* prayer and the text of Psalm 117 with transcription and verbatim Latin version.

The Venetian printer was responding to a nascent interest among Christians in Hebrew studies, in particular the original version of the Old Testament, fueled by their desire to arrive at a better understanding of the Bible. Indeed, humanists such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) and Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542) were no longer satisfied with knowing Latin and Greek, but also directed their efforts to Hebrew. Like with Greek, they were initially dependent on members of the communities in which knowledge of Hebrew still flourished, in this case the Jews, whom many Christians despised even more than the Greek Orthodox dissidents from the East.[6] Manutius envisaged to publish more extensive Hebrew handbooks such as a full-fledged grammar and a dictionary and even a trilingual Bible

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[4] The academy was likely more a dream than a reality (Lowry 1976).

[5] See Burnett 2000 on Christian Hebrew printing in the sixteenth century. See Campanini 2013 for an accessible overview of Christian Hebraism in the Renaissance.

[6] See Campanini in this volume. Unlike with the Jews, there was still hope of reconciliation with the Orthodox Christians in the Renaissance.

(Wilson 2017, p. 162), if the introduction would prove to be successful. The refinement of these tools for Christian Hebraists-to-be, however, was the privilege of northern humanists, starting with Konrad Pellikan (1478-1556) and Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522), who had to defend their Hebrew learning vigorously (see e.g. Burnett 2012). Non-clerics such as Reuchlin grasped the Jewish tradition of mystical literature known as Kabbalah as a gateway to make the study of Hebrew acceptable to Christians, an attempt which turned out rather unsuccessful (Campanini 2013, p. 443).

Overall, there was great continuity between the late medieval and early modern interest in Greek and Hebrew in terms of the scholarly motivations to study these so-called sacred languages in addition to Latin: gaining a better understanding of the Bible by producing more accurate Latin translations and, more broadly, seeking wisdom and broadening one's knowledge through direct access to the source texts in their original languages. Still, the rupture traditionally claimed to exist between the Middle Ages and the early modern period cannot be attributed solely to humanist self-aggrandizement and their uncompromising fascination with antiquity at the expense of medieval culture. Not only did Renaissance scholars greatly contribute to upscaling and popularizing the study of Greek and Hebrew, but they also made major improvements to the tools and methods with which to learn these languages, eventually establishing a Western tradition of trilingual training largely independent of Greeks and Jews. This tradition culminated in the Europe-wide establishment, from the early sixteenth century onward, of academic institutes, where the study of the three so-called sacred languages occupied a special place. There were, of course, numerous Greek chairs in Italy in the preceding century (see e.g. Ciccolella & Silvano 2017), but we are focusing here on institutes where Greek and Hebrew were taught jointly, next to Latin, the traditional language of learning. These initiatives clearly show certain interconnections: in some cases, one institute is even completely modelled on another. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that each *collegium trilingue* had its own aims and background (see Van Hal in this volume for more details).

In 1508, the first three language college had been established in the Spanish Catholic *collegium* of San Ildefonso, even though

it had some difficulties in finding adequate teachers of Greek and Hebrew and was at first only a trilingual college in theory, not in practice. Rial Costas reveals how this project followed medieval traditions and was in the first place of a theological-scholastic nature, as there was barely any interest in the culture of pagan classical antiquity itself. The first institute to offer actual courses in Hebrew (1517) and Greek (1518) was the Louvain *Collegium Trilingue*, founded under the will of the suddenly deceased Jerome of Busleyden and owing much to the machinations of Erasmus (on the Louvain *Collegium Trilingue*, see recently Papy 2017 and 2018, with further references, and Feys and Van Rooy in this volume). Similar institutes and language chairs soon followed suit. By the end of 1518, the university of Wittenberg offered courses of Hebrew and Greek in the regular curriculum (see Keen in this volume). In Marburg, a town in the neighboring Land-grave of Hesse, the very first Protestant university was founded in 1527. In its oldest statutes, dating from 1529, we read at the very beginning that it was conceived as a 'commune studiorum Gymnasium atque illud trilingue' (Koch 1868, p. 10-11), 'a common gymnasium for studies, and a trilingual one at that'. In 1530, king Francis I founded his *Collège royal* in Paris after the model of the Louvain *Trilingue* (see Constantinidou in this volume). Not all institutions were able to boast longevity: in 1539, Johann Fabri (1478-1541), bishop of Vienna, founded a *collegium trilingue*, aimed at a dozen poor students, but the initiative died together with its founder, barely two years later.

The humanist connection explains why, even though the study of Greek and Hebrew was largely sparked by theological concerns, the trilingual institutes in Louvain and Paris reserved a prominent place for pagan, especially Greek and Latin, literature in their curricula as well, whereas Cisneros' early trilingual project was very much theologically oriented (see Van Hal in this volume, who points out that the exact study programs of most trilingual institutes require further research). The great classics, not least Homer, Demosthenes, Vergil, and Cicero, were eagerly read, studied, and taught for their moral and rhetoric value alongside the Bible and Early Christian authors (see Constantinidou, Feys, Rial Costas, and Van Rooy in this volume). What is more, it seems that the focus was on pagan texts in curricula, even

though humanists often had theological goals at a fundamental level. This tension is, for instance, obviously present in Erasmus' work, which reunites an intrinsic interest in classical antiquity (e.g. *Adagia*) with a desire for a return to a purer form of Christianity (e.g. his *Novum Instrumentum*). Resorting to morally approved pagan texts for didactic purposes had the advantage of avoiding disputes with theology faculties, which often claimed the monopoly over biblical exegesis. In an era of great religious strife and censorship, teachers could even run the danger of prosecution if their exegesis was found not to represent the right dogma. Teaching pagan texts was therefore in a way also a means of self-preservation.

Several contributions in this volume also show that the Christian study of Greek and Hebrew, especially in the early stages, was not without danger. Christian humanists wanted direct access to the Hebrew Scripture following the typical *ad fontes*-idea and reconciling it with Kabbalistic studies, but they hurried to defend their Judaic interests, usually pointing out that they had managed to convert their Jewish teachers to Christianity. This locus communis served as a disclaimer to justify their Hebrew studies (see Campanini in this volume). However, despite the original hostility toward the polyglot institutes out of religious concerns, the study of Greek and Hebrew ultimately found acceptance relatively quickly – after approximately one generation – also among Catholic theologians, to whom the Latin Vulgate remained the reference text in their studies. The circumstances that might explain this process of rapid acceptance require further study. Who were the main promotors and adversaries in it, beyond usual suspects such as Erasmus and Jacobus Latomus? Are there abiding differences among the various confessions in Europe regarding the degree to which they embraced the study of these languages (see also Veteikis in this volume)? Another burden scholars fascinated with Greek and Hebrew had to overcome was of a material nature: only a minority of publishers were willing to invest in Greek and Hebrew font sets, and the lack of printed books casted a shadow on the initial period of, for instance, the *Collegium Trilingue* at Alcalá (see Rial Costas in this volume). Printers could moreover be suspected of heresy on account of their output in Greek and Hebrew, as in the case

of Chrétien Wechel, alumnus of Louvain university and Greek printer for the *Collège royal* in Paris (see Constantinidou in this volume).[7]

3. *Greek and Hebrew Language Study and Intellectual Innovation*

Nunc non ago causam meam, quam habeo pro derelicta, sed studiorum causa tibi commendo. Mechliniae Carmelita quidam Paschasius, ut ex multorum litteris accipio, publicitus e suggesto debacchatur in linguas ac bonas litteras, et nominatim in Collegium trilingue, quod instituit Louanii vir omnium seculorum memoria dignus Hieronymus Buslidius. Agant hoc quod habent in mandatis, pugnent aduersus haereses; at bellum gerere cum his litteris, sine quibus omnes reliquae disciplinae mutae sunt, mancae sunt, caecae sunt, plurimum abest ab animo tum Caesaris tum Pontificis. 'At Philippus Melanchthon' inquiunt, 'et alii nonnulli Graece Hebraiceque periti fauerunt improbatae factioni'. Ista non studiorum est culpa sed hominum; sed longe plures fauent Luthero qui neque Graece sciunt neque Latine. Multo plures his litteris instructi pugnant cum Luthero. Certe Louanii nullus est ex hoc genere non alienissimus a re Lutherana.

It is not my own cause that I plead today, since I consider it hopeless, but rather I commend to you the cause of learning. As I discern in the letters of many, a Carmelite in Mechelen named Paschasius rants publicly from the pulpit against the study of languages and good letters, and specifically against the *Collegium Trilingue* established in Louvain by Jérôme de Busleyden, a man worthy to be remembered for all ages. Let such busybodies do what they are supposed to do, which is to combat heresy; but to wage war upon these studies, without which all other disciplines are speechless, crippled, and blind, is far from the mind of either the pope or the emperor. 'But Philippus Melanchthon', they say, 'and several

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[7] Wechel enrolled at Louvain university on November 2, 1510, together with a certain Andreas Wechel, no doubt a sibling of his: see Schillings 1958, p. 403. This important detail about the influential printer's life, which seems to have been previously unknown, suggests that he might have witnessed the establishment of the *Collegium Trilingue* from close-by, or at least the surging interest in Greek studies there in the early 1510s.

others who know Greek and Hebrew have rallied to the side of the condemned faction'. That is not the fault of learning but of men; besides, Luther counts more supporters by far among those who know neither Greek nor Latin. And the great majority of those trained in these studies are opposed to Luther. In Louvain, I assure you, there is not one of this category of men who is not totally unsympathetic to the Lutheran cause.[8]

Erasmus to Jean II de Carondelet, the archbishop of Palermo
Basel, March 30, 1527

During his lifetime, Erasmus felt forced to defend trilingual learning at various occasions against allegations of heresy or sympathy for the Protestant cause. The passage cited neatly illustrates what was at stake for him and, more broadly, the humanists learning Greek and Hebrew. Through these revered ancient languages, they wanted to reach more accurate knowledge in *all* fields of study. It is no wonder, then, that scholars were eager to introduce the study of these languages into university education to bring about this linguistic, ergo intellectual, revolution. Indeed, in the Renaissance, new forms of grammar and language teaching constituted the motor of knowledge innovation. This idea was not merely an empty commonplace in apologies of trilingual teaching; in fact, Terrence Heath (1971) has argued that revolutions in the field of logic at three German universities were triggered by the introduction of new grammatical ideas.

The impact of incorporating Greek and Hebrew next to Latin into university-level education was potentially enormous, affecting university curricula, fields such as theology, law, and sciences, as well as the study and status of Latin and other languages, especially the vernaculars. It comes as no surprise that the widening of the language horizon has also contributed to novel views of language as such (cf. Trabant 2006). The intensive study of Hebrew, a language long considered perfect and unassailable, paradoxically enough initiated a sobering process of demythologizing the language (Droixhe 1992). The significance attached to Hebrew and Greek also stimulated the study of vernacular languages (Giard

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[8] The Latin text is taken from Allen & Allen 1928, p. 24 (letter 1806); the English translation from Erasmus 2010, p. 49-50.

1992, p. 209) and other so-called Oriental languages, such as Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic (Hamilton 2016). The introduction of these learned languages into university curricula, together with the rise of the vernacular languages (Tavoni 1998, p. 46), broke the monopoly of Latin.

The broader impact of Hebrew and Greek language study was considerable, and the potential research paths are enormous. In the frame of this short introduction, we can only touch upon this topic very concisely. The study of the sciences, including medicine, biology, astronomy, and geography, was significantly stimulated by Greek source texts. For the intellectual contributions of a few renowned scientists such as the anatomist Andreas Vesalius the significance of Greek texts is well-known (see e.g. Papy 2000; Grendler 2006, p. 83-88), but beyond such great men history this topic is still a relative wasteland. The impact of Greek learning also concerned engineering techniques, as can be illustrated by the example of Vettor Fausto (after 1480-*c*. 1546), discussed by Long (2011, p. 105-106). A professor of Greek in Venice with a background in mathematics, Fausto developed in 1529 a powerful quinquereme based on the reading of Greek technical literature.

The influence of studying Greek and the Semitic languages on scholarship has been examined in several domains and from multiple perspectives, even though there remains much room for additional explorations. The discovery of new texts by Aristotle and Plato had, of course, a dramatic impact on late medieval and Renaissance philosophy, but there was also a fruitful exchange between Hebrew texts and natural philosophy in Renaissance Italy (see e.g. Berns 2015; Celenza 2018). The idea of a *translatio philosophiae*, outlined by, among other scholars, Roger Bacon (Rosier-Catach 1997, p. 82), had medieval roots but persisted in the early modern period (Olszowy-Schlanger 2013; see also Melamed in this volume). After the divine donation of philosophy to the Jews, Aristotle and subsequently Avicenna were thought to have revamped it before transmitting it to the West. Also the impact on philology, and Biblical philology in particular, is well-studied (e.g. Taylor 2015; Hamilton 2016). Even before the Bible was available in the original source languages, humanist scholars such as Petrarch preferred to access scripture through the writings

of Augustine instead of reading the stylistically inferior Vulgate. In the first half of the fifteenth century, Greek Early Christian authors were translated into Latin (Taylor 2015, p. 295-296). In a following stage, the study of Scripture in its original languages was initiated by scholars such as Lorenzo Valla and Giannozzo Manetti, and later made possible by the publication of, for instance, the Complutensian Polyglot. In this volume, Keen shows how in Melanchthon's view, Scripture could not be understood theologically until it was first understood grammatically. The study of Scripture in the original languages along with Jewish commentaries also gave way to novel approaches to ancient chronology and to various other aspects of ancient history (Taylor 2015, p. 308).

At the end of this introduction, we would like to zoom in on one area in particular, the subject of law – as a token of honor to our late colleague Laurent Waelkens, co-organizer of the 2017 LECTIO conference and author of the final article in this volume. Philology and law maintained privileged relations in the early modern period; a strikingly high number of humanists had a background in law, a subject domain which required close reading just like philology (cf. Monheit 1997; Sanchi 2018). This combination of interests seems less obvious today, which perhaps explains why this legal context, very present in early modern humanism, often remains underexposed in present-day historiography. It was, however, precisely their interest in law that triggered some humanists' engagement with Greek (Osler 2016), which was prominent in the Latin law codes of Justinian and had been regarded as incomprehensible and even useless by earlier legal scholars (see Sanchi in this volume). The Byzantine translation of Justinian's *Institutes* by the sixth-century author Theophilus Antecessor became a popular text in humanist circles (see Rial Costas and Van Rooy in this volume), and scholars such as Viglius of Aytta (1507-1577) actively encouraged their contemporaries to consult Greek sources in law studies, *ut in pristinum decus redeat jurisprudentia* ('so that jurisprudence would return to its ancient splendor'; quoted from Strubbe 1970, p. 347). In the early sixteenth century, indeed, Greek was the language of new legal ideas. For jurist Reuchlin it was not an ancient language, but the living tongue of recently sacked Constantinople.

In Waelkens' contribution, therefore, the Greeks are still very much alive. In his view, immigrated Greeks gave rise to new legal techniques in law, especially in finance law and trade financing, which were slowly being absorbed into Western culture.[9] Waelkens thus reminds us of an important dimension of the study of the Greek and Hebrew tongues in the premodern period; these languages were not approached and appropriated as extinct remnants of a distant past waiting to be rediscovered by Western scholars. Rather, Greek and Hebrew were the languages of living foreign cultures which provided privileged access to a whole new body of ideas, often controversial and sometimes revolutionary, as Waelkens' case study illustrates. We hope that this volume can be a stimulus to further investigate this lively dynamics between scholars in Western Europe, on the one hand, and the Greek and Hebrew cultural and linguistic heritage, on the other.

Roadmap of the Volume

All contributions to this book are equipped with summarizing abstracts, which is why we will limit ourselves here to succinctly presenting the structure of this volume on a more generic level. Part I, *Greek and Hebrew: Borders and Landmarks*, offers a broad view on the phenomena of Hellenism and Hebraism in the Renaissance, teasing out what the landmark events were, and how confessional borders were crossed in the wake of the renewed interest in the Ancient Greek and Jewish heritage. Both contributions attach great importance to fruitful contact zones. The Greek-centered survey paper by L.-A. Sanchi singles out the Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438-1445) as a crucial moment in time during which scholars from Italian cities and the reduced Byzantine empire were in close contact. S. Campanini's survey article on Hebrew studies, in turn, pays special attention to the relatively short-lived situation in which Christian and Jewish intellectuals intensely crossed borders between their cultures and religions.

Part II, *New Foundations: Institutes, Methods, Manuals*, focuses on newly founded trilingual institutes, surveyed, contextualized,

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[9] Cf. Harris 1995 for other domains of everyday impact of Byzantine migrants, including shipbuilding and other crafts.

and assessed in T. Van Hal's paper. The contributions pay particular attention to the methods and manuals used in teaching at these institutes, exploring the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew from a book-historical or didactic perspective, or a combination of both. Whereas N. Constantinidou presents book-historical evidence for an inductive approach to Greek language and literature teaching at the *Collège royal*, it is the very lack of textbooks that for a long time determined trilingual teaching in Alcalá, as B. Rial Costas illustrates. Two case studies related to the Louvain *Collegium Trilingue* shed light on the methods used for the teaching of Greek on an advanced level (R. Van Rooy) and on the reading and exegesis of Latin texts through a Greek lens (X. Feys).

The contributions to this volume do not, however, exclusively focus on well-known early sixteenth-century trilingual institutions such as Alcalá, Louvain, Paris, and Wittenberg, as can be gathered from the papers in Part III, *Knowledge in Practice: Greek and Hebrew in Active Use*. The two papers included in this part are situated in the Baltic region of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries and shed light on local scholars who felt confident enough to compose texts in Greek and Hebrew themselves. T. Veteikis as well as J. Päll and A. Põldsam showcase how the active usage of these learned tongues in the Republic of Letters became common formalized practice in education in these areas.

The two papers in Part IV, *Bridging Traditions: Jewish and Classical Philology*, deal with the relationship of two prime examples of medieval Jewish scholarship to classical culture and languages, not incidentally both from the city of Rome, the capital of Western Christianity but also a melting pot of cultures and creeds. A. Wenger studies the origins of the references to the Greek language in Nathan ben Yehiel's dictionary of Rabbinic vocabulary, the *Arukh*, whereas V. A. Mariggiò examines the mentions of classical philosophers and physicians in 'Immanu'el of Rome's *maḥbarot*, as well as the adoption of classical themes and literary conventions in this work.

The fifth and final part, *Trilingual Learning and Beyond: Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic in Theology, Philosophy, and Law*, offers a kaleidoscopic view on the impact of learning other culture languages on different scholarly disciplines. According to R. Keen's analysis, the Reformer Philip Melanchthon gradually transformed

his trilingual humanism from a secular pedagogical program into a theologically framed Protestant propaedeutic. This confessionalization of the study of Greek and Hebrew stands in stark contrast to the lack of theological interest in the Qurʾān, as showcased in K. Starczewska's paper. She illustrates that early modern engagement with the core text of Islam mainly served the philological study of the Arabic language, which scholars considered valuable to learn in spite of the much-despised religious ideas it conveyed. It was, therefore, much less obvious to study this tongue than Hebrew, that other major 'Oriental' language in the premodern linguistic landscape. Indeed, A. Melamed demonstrates that learning Hebrew surpassed philological and theological goals by tracing the history of the idea that this tongue was the original philosophical language both in Jewish and Christian circles. The closing paper by L. Waelkens, finally, neatly illustrates that studying learned languages such as Greek was not merely a pastime for the happy few but had the potential of impacting everyday life by the dissemination of new legal ideas.

In terms of editorial choices, we have aimed in the first place at internal consistency for each of the papers with regard to, among other things, Latin orthography; the rationale behind quoting and translating non-English source texts; and details of the bibliographical lists, such as the inclusion of book series titles and the anglicization of placenames.

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PART I
GREEK AND HEBREW

BORDERS AND LANDMARKS

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GREEK STUDIES
IN RENAISSANCE ITALY
PROTAGONISTS, CENTERS,
AND AREAS OF IMPACT

Introduction

When medieval teachers lectured on Justinian's Code or on the Digest and found Greek expressions inserted in the middle of the Latin text, they simply stated, as Juan Luis Vives recalls in his masterpiece *De disciplinis*: *Non potest legi, quia Graecum* ('It cannot be read, because it is Greek'). That is to say, one cannot read these Greek words, so we will not explain them.[1] Some traces of this attitude can be found in the Gloss of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris* written by Accursius (b. 1181/86, d. 1259/63), one of the major medieval interpreters of Roman law. For instance, on Justinian's *Institutiones*, book III, 23, 2, where verses from the *Iliad* (VII, 472-475) are inserted to illustrate barter, Accursius notes: *His verbis] scilicet Graecis, quae legi non possunt*, which means '"By these words"], that is Greek words, which cannot be read' (Accursius 1969, p. 94, a). In the Digest Book XXXII, 65, 4, where the jurist Marcianus quotes from the *Odyssey* XIII, 407-408, about the everyday fact that pigs used to graze together, Accursius

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[1] Juan Luis Vives 1531, fol. 74v (Part I, *De corruptis artibus*, Book VII, subtitle: *Ignorantia linguarum*): *Maximam illis obscuritatem sequentibus seculis attulit ruditas duarum linguarum, quibus erant scripti [centones (sc. Digestorum)]. Ignorata sunt uerba graeca quorum frequens est mentio, cum in toto corpore iuris ciuilis, tum potissimum in Codice, et ex eo in tribus postremis [libris]. Mul<t>a citata ex Homero et Demosthene et aliis Graecis penitus omissa, in quibus erat uis sententiae legis. Pro quorum expositione unum illud dictum arbitrabantur sufficere: 'Non potest legi, quia graecum', quasi in perpetuum desperarent de eo quod in praesens non assequerentur [...]*. See Boulhol 2014, p. 7 and footnote 9; Troje 1971, p. 292; Défaux 1997, p. 193 and footnote 59; Défaux 1973, p. 148 and footnote 77.

comments: *In Odyssea] Nomen libri Homeri, et sequitur Graecum nullius utilitatis*, that is '"In the *Odyssey*"]: the name of Homer's work, and a useless Greek quotation follows'.[2] If these professors were not able to comment on a few verses or sentences, one can imagine what it would have been for an entire work. And let us just imagine everything that was missed in this way: the heritage written in Ancient Greek over centuries is gigantic and multifaceted. The purpose of this paper is to show in which complex ways the typical situation I just mentioned was successfully reversed by introducing the knowledge of the classical Greek language and literature in the system of secondary and higher education, and by doing so on a sufficiently large scale, modifying European culture as a whole. And we will see later that the jurists, in spite of what we have just read, did not play an oppositional role.[3]

1. *Knowledge of the Greek Tongue: Humanism and the Renaissance as Part of the Middle Ages*

From a strictly chronological point of view, the great phenomena of humanism, the Renaissance, and even the Reformation have their roots in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, before flowering throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, the first century of what we call the 'early modern' period in English. In this perspective, I find it convenient to use the designation 'Renaissance' for this key period between two epochs. The word 'key' is used on purpose: a key exists in relation to the door that it opens and is the object that serves to cross a threshold. In this context, it is an object that comes from the area called 'before' and enables going to the one called 'after'. So I propose to see humanism and the Renaissance as 'keys'. This also applies to the Reformation:

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[2] Accursius 1968, p. 268, r (see the same reference in Inst. IV, 3, 1); see La Mantia 1889, p. 30. Of course, the *glossa* does not imply that either Greek literature as a whole or Homeric poems were *nullius utilitatis* to Accursius' mind, but only this quotation in that context – a position that could even be acceptable, if considered from the scholar's technical point of view.

[3] The major facts discussed in my paper are based on the following standard works: Reynolds & Wilson 2014; Cappelli 2010; Witt 2012; Boulhol 2014; see also Celenza 2009; Cortesi 1995; Weiss 1969, p. 131-144; Wilson 2017; Berschin 1980; Setton 1956. Other specific literature will be quoted hereafter.

Martin Luther himself explicitly claimed to follow the reformers who had come before him, Jan Hus and John Wycliffe, but also the Waldenses and the Cathars. In the midst of medieval contradictions, these reforms inspired by evangelical egalitarianism and linked to the rise of cities are like anticipations of the future, admittedly ones forming a minority and doomed to failure, for the feudal system was still too solidly established to give way to them; but later on, thanks to the printing press and maturing social changes, the Lutheran Reformation succeeded in taking root throughout large areas. Humanism responded to this same dynamic of opposition: a very small movement initially confined to a few cities in Italy, besides Avignon, it grew little by little, eventually becoming a major European phenomenon during the sixteenth century. To sum up: it must not be forgotten that the initial chronology of the great phenomena of early modernity was entirely medieval, but these phenomena formed 'the opposition', to use a political metaphor, and while not premature, they can be explained within their medieval horizons. They do not, however, correspond to the traditional image of the Middle Ages.

In order to better understand the characteristics and limits of the rise of Greek, we must ask ourselves a few questions: firstly, can we call it a *renaissance*, a 'rebirth'? Has there been a comeback of Greek studies to the West after 'centuries of oblivion', as it has been romantically termed?[4] As such, the question is wrongly formulated, since it implies both a fundamental continuity from antiquity onward and a sort of guilt, as if the supposed heirs of ancient Rome were accused of having deliberately neglected Greek for centuries, before eventually bringing about this long-desired comeback to Greek studies. But if we have a look at the map of Western Europe, it appears that this area does not really overlap with that of the Western Roman Empire: it is larger on

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[4] See e.g. Boulhol 2014, p. 7 and footnote 10. Humanists made eager use of such formulations, starting from Leonardo Bruni's famous remark, made in his *Commentarius* (*Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius*, 1440-1441): until Manuel Chrysoloras' arrival in Florence, knowledge of Greek was considered to have been absent for 700 years in Italy: *Literae quoque* [...] *mirabile quantum per Italiam increvere: accedente tunc primum cognitione literarum Graecarum, quae septingentis iam annis apud nostros homines desierant esse in usu* (Bruni 1539, p. 14).

the continent and its center has moved to the north, after the loss of the regions that were conquered by the Arabs. In addition, even the geographical areas that remained Christian such as peninsular Italy and France were no longer inhabited by the same populations since the migrations of Germanic tribes at the end of antiquity. In short, we are not talking of the same people.

Secondly, the only Greek that permanently remained in the West was found in the many Latin borrowings from Greek, including words related to Christianity. In this respect, it is important to point out that the Greco-Roman areas where Christianity had gradually become the dominant religion did not consider it relevant to, on a large scale, teach or study Hebrew, instead simply translating everything into Greek – with the exception of a few words such as *amen*, *abbot*, or *jubilee*. Latin, however, abounds with Greek words, which explains the existence of various medieval Latin works touching, near or far, on this subject: the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune, the *Doctrinale* of Alexandre de Villedieu, and the *Derivationes* of Uguccione of Pisa, among others.[5]

Thirdly, when we speak of the Renaissance of Greek, we refer to the revival of the organized study of the classical Greek language and its literary heritage – initiated in some scholarly circles, subsequently studied at universities, and finally supported through the use of printing, which ensured its survival and its lasting diffusion. This is, however, a very specific sort of *renaissance*, and it is important to recall that, before this renaissance materialized, a small number of scholars did have a basic knowledge of Greek. As a matter of fact, the contact between the Western and the Greek-Byzantine worlds never really ceased to exist. The Church of Rome was not independent before the Schism

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[5] If the Greek origins of Latin words like *bibliotheca* or *historia* are easily recognized, it is less obvious in the case of *centrum*, *cubus*, *hora*, *corona*, *balneum*, *thesaurus*, *brac(c)hium*, and dozens of other pieces of the current vocabulary that were transmitted through the Middle Ages and are still used in various modern languages, not only the Romance ones. In turn, it may be remembered that the widespread *Latin Grammar* in eighteen books composed *c*. AD 500 by Priscian, an African professor, was produced in Constantinople to help the local imperial servants and lawyers, mostly Greek people, deal with Latin texts of law. During the Middle Ages, Priscian's work became the standard advanced handbook in the Latin West.

of 1054, living in communion with the churches depending on the other patriarchates, in spite of recurrent disagreements with Constantinople. In this way, the Church of Rome was more or less continuously in contact with Greek-speaking dignitaries, some of whom were residents of the city of Rome, where interpreters were active to enable exchange with the Latins. After the Schism and during the Crusades, the Latins directly settled in the Byzantine world (Latin Empire, 1204-1261). They organized preaching, founded schools, and undertook other local actions which were necessarily based on the knowledge of Greek. Thus, even if it was through occupation and wars, the two cultural worlds had drawn closer, also through the intermediary role played by the Maritime Republics Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, and Venice, and the Sicily of the Norman kings Roger and Frederick II (see Arbel, Hamilton & Jacoby 1989; Hinterberger & Schabel 2011). Even in light of all this, the Greek language and its vast literature were by no means at the center of studies, least of all higher studies, because scholars were concerned with other questions: their interest was restricted to producing faithful Latin word-for-word translations (*verbum de verbo*) of Greek theological or philosophical works. In this stage, we are still quite far from Homer, Euripides, Demosthenes, or Plutarch.

I should ask one more question: were the Hellenists a minority group within the humanist movement? To answer this, I must distinguish two main ways of dealing with Greek. Only a minority of humanists could boast a deep knowledge of classical Greek and Greek philology, in spite of their efforts to learn the language and, later, to found trilingual colleges. But this does not alter the fact that a much larger group took a general interest in Greek literary texts, consumed in Latin humanist translations or even in the vernacular. Above all, there was a general awareness of the inseparable unity of the Latin and Greek heritages. This second modality is obviously consubstantial with humanism in its entirety: from linguistics to philosophy, from rhetoric to history, from geography to medicine. Before treating the impact of the specific Renaissance of Greek, I will discuss in very general terms some of the milestones of Italian humanism, starting from the beginning.

2. *A Long-Lasting Curiosity about Antiquity*

2.1. Three Landmarks

In order to understand the origins of humanism as an effort to study ancient culture and its specific place within medieval civilization, we must remember a central feature, so prominent that it is easily forgotten: most of medieval culture itself is made up of elements that hark back to antiquity. Three examples will illustrate this. First of all, Christianity itself should be seen against the backdrop of antiquity. Jesus Christ was crucified under the emperor Tiberius, and his message was diffused through the gospels, which contain numerous historical references, for instance to king Herod or Pontius Pilatus, the Jordan river, or the holy city of Jerusalem. Hence, in Christian liturgy, continuous reference is made to events which took place during Roman antiquity – not to mention the Old Testament, where we find references to ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Persia.

Secondly, there was a continued presence of Aristotelian philosophy in medieval Latin culture. Although filtered in the Middle Ages through Neo-Platonism as well as through extensive Arabic elaboration, the underlying philosophical tradition was highly indebted to Aristotle, founder of the Lyceum in Athens, from where emanated Aristotle's esoteric or 'acroamatic' writings that were not intended for the general public. His writings were brought to Rome during Sulla's reign. Cicero, then a young a man, still knew his exoteric (and more accessible) works, which are now lost.

Thirdly, the Western medieval world – not only its educational system – was reshaped by the rediscovery of the Digest and the Corpus of Roman Law gathered by Justinian in late antiquity. After its retrieval in Ravenna, it was studied in Bologna in the eleventh century. Roman law, although only known through a sixth-century compilation, includes the entire social life of ancient Rome and the Mediterranean world as it was organized by the Romans during the golden age of their empire. It encompasses all the complexity of this social life: family and administration, business and work, transportation and land-owning. All sorts of actions are included, with an admirably high degree of conceptualization. Amazement at the majesty of the Roman admin-

istrative machinery was the attitude of the first humanists, who were often jurists and very curious to better understand real life in ancient times. Must we conclude that humanism had no specific object, since medieval culture had also been focused on antiquity? Of course not, because there are considerable differences other than the new-found attention for the Greek language and literature: the most important is the awareness of a discontinuity between pagan and Christian antiquity. If humanists desired a rebirth of antiquity, this presupposed, precisely, the idea of its previous death, which means that an intermediate phase of differentiation was conceived, an *aetas media* or *recentior* that was no longer antiquity. This consciousness of a temporal segmentation, this specific awareness of history was one of the primary novelties of humanistic and modern historical sensibility.

2.2. The Legacy of Petrarch: Italian Beginnings

The history of the Greek Renaissance begins with Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca; b. 1304-d. 1374). Although humanism did not emerge ex nihilo, Petrarch is still a founding figure, for he was the first to fully embody the principal intellectual characteristics of the Renaissance and, from the practical point of view, he propagated humanist studies throughout his life in all the cities where he lived and among the many characters with whom he was in contact. It is therefore essentially he who conceived and initiated the humanist phenomenon; after his death, the first humanist generation boasted about their contacts with him.[6] Without describing here the countless aspects of Petrarch's legacy, it is important to stress that he perfectly understood the necessity of adding Greek antiquity, in the original language, to the knowledge of Latin antiquity. While in Avignon in 1342 at the court of pope Benedict XII, Petrarch took advantage of the presence of a Greek Orthodox monk, Barlaam of Calabria, who was delegated to the negotiations on the union of the two churches. Petrarch's attempts to learn ancient Greek remained in vain. An-

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[6] See Baker 2015, who has many interesting things to say about the ways in which Italian humanists perceived their own cultural movement and its 'founding fathers' (emphatically including, but by no means limited to, Petrarch).

other great Italian author, Giovanni Boccaccio (b. 1313-d. 1375), also tried to learn Greek from Barlaam, again without any real success.[7] Some years after Barlaam's death in 1348, Petrarch wrote a touching letter in which he describes himself next to a Greek manuscript of Homer, upset at having it so near him without being able to read it – it is a letter addressed to the Byzantine dignitary Nicholas Sygeros, thanking him for the Homer manuscript:

> *Sine qua [uoce], Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo uero ego apud illum surdus sum. Gaudeo tamen uel aspectu solo et saepe illum amplexus ac suspirans dico: 'O magne uir, quam cupide te audirem! Sed aurium mearum alteram mors obstruxit, alteram longinquitas invisa terrarum'.*[8]

> Without [your voice], your Homer is silent for me, or rather I am deaf before him. However, I rejoice by only looking at him and I hug him often and say to him with a sigh: 'Great man, how willingly would I listen to you! But one of my ears was closed by [Barlaam's] death, the other by the hateful distance [viz. of Nicholas, who was in Constantinople]!'

Written by a man such as Petrarch, both a great poet and a great scholar, these lines symbolize the deep desire, in a time which may still be considered to fully belong to the European Middle Ages, that a few educated people felt the need to enter the world of Greek literature and to 'hear', literally, the very words of Homer, Plato, and Aristotle.

Thanks to the network he established and inspired, Petrarch's attitude toward antiquity and Greek literature as cultural sources spread throughout Italy and enthused the first generation of humanists. In 1360-1361, Boccaccio tried to establish at Florence university a Greek course, appointing the Calabrese monk Leonzio Pilato (b. 1310-d. 1365), an attempt which already failed after a few months. Yet, at Boccaccio's request, Pilato did take a major step with his Latin translations of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and some other Greek masterpieces. And soon the time was ripe, under

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[7] A paradox can be underlined in this story to show how composite Italy's history is. The 'Greek' professor as well as their respective pupils would be Italian in today's world: the former came from Calabria, the latter were both Tuscan.

[8] Petrarch, *Familiarium rerum libri* 18.2.

the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati (b. 1332-d. 1406), a man belonging to the generation after Petrarch and grand master of the new Italian scholars. As early as 1397, Salutati officially invited Manuel Chrysoloras to the *Studium* of the city, who was the first Greek to offer regular teaching in Italy until his death in 1415. He was also the author of a pioneering grammar, entitled *Erōtémata* (Ἐρωτήματα; 'Questions [and Answers]'). In Chrysoloras' wake, the Italian intellectual vanguard learned the Greek language in several important centers (see Botley 2010), of which I will discuss only the most prominent ones.

First and foremost, Florence must be mentioned, where the generation of Leonardo Bruni (b. 1410/11-d. 1444), also a future chancellor, Niccolò Niccoli, Antonio Corbinelli, Palla Strozzi, and many others flourished. They translated the principal Greek historians, philosophers, and orators into Latin, mainly out of a political interest, while the Camaldolese monk Ambrogio Traversari (b. 1386-d. 1439) elaborated a reformist Christian humanism combining classical wisdom and that of Early Christian authors, thus reconciling Plato and the gospel. Milan and Pavia were home to Uberto Decembrio, Antonio Loschi, Pier Paolo Vergerio, and later Pier Candido Decembrio (b. 1399-d. 1477), who went to England in 1440 to be the teacher of Duke Humphrey and completed in the same years a new translation of Plato's *Republic*. Rome, where the Papacy moved back after the long Avignon period, had humanists such as Cencio de' Rustici (b. 1380/90-d. 1445, educated by Chrysoloras) and established as early as 1406 a Greek chair, thanks to one of the first humanist popes, Innocent VII (b. *c.* 1336-d. 1406). Venice was already an obvious place for Greeks, with its dockyard and commercial activities, and has to be mentioned along with Padua, where Venetian aristocrats were mostly educated and where the teaching of Gasparino Barzizza (b. 1360-d. 1431) and of Guarino Veronese (b. *c.* 1370-d. 1460) took place. Francesco Barbaro, a Venetian nobleman, wrote in 1415 his *Apologia de rerum Graecarum disciplina et de eorum interpretatione* ('Apology for the study of Greek heritage and for its translation'); I can also link to Venice such a universal humanist as Francesco Filelfo (b. 1398-d. 1481), who, born in Tolentino and having acquired Venetian citizenship, then lived in every important humanist center on the peninsula.

As a citizen of Venice, Filelfo spent seven years in Constantinople, from 1420 to 1427, learned Greek from Manuel Chrysoloras' nephew John and married John's daughter, Theodora. The city of Ferrara should also be mentioned, with the teaching of Guarino Veronese, who himself stayed in Constantinople from 1403 to 1408 to perfect his Greek before translating and adapting Manuel Chrysoloras' *Grammar*.

Concerning linguistic skills, it has to be stressed here how strongly the humanists tried to simplify the medieval grammars in order to shorten as much as possible the period of linguistic training and to get earlier access to the study of the original texts – the best way to learn a language, they believed. Notably, the Sicilian scholar Giovanni Aurispa (b. 1376-d. 1459), Lorenzo Valla's teacher, returned in 1423 from a stay in Constantinople where he had served as imperial secretary to John VIII Palaeologos. From the Byzantine capital, Aurispa brought a cargo of 238 Byzantine manuscripts, both classical and religious texts – an enormous treasure which greatly stimulated Greek studies and translation activities. He then worked as professor of Greek in different Italian towns. As can be gathered from these few indications, the study of Greek and the translations of Greek masterpieces were part of humanism from the very beginning and cannot be separated from the major research interests of these intellectuals.

3. *The Renaissance of Greek and Its Impact on Western Culture*

3.1. The Council of Ferrara and Florence

A crucial moment for the rise of Greek studies in the West was the Ecumenical Council of Ferrara, later transferred to Florence (1438-1439). Its historical background is of central importance: the declining Byzantine Empire was then reduced to the Despotate of the Morea and the sole city of Constantinople, which had already been close to capture in 1402 and was eventually conquered in 1453. Between these two dates, the Byzantines tried to persuade the monarchs in Western Europe to engage in a crusade against the Turks through a religious union under the pope's leadership. The Ecumenical Council of Ferrara-Florence was

charged with implementing the union. A Byzantine delegation of 700 members of the highest rank went to Italy and left their mark on the protagonists of the second generation of humanists such as Leonardo Bruni, another student of Chrysoloras' and chancellor of Florence at the time, and Ambrogio Traversari, who put his knowledge to the service of philological research on the synods of antiquity, which were necessary for the proceedings of this council. Among the Greeks were the philosopher George Gemistos Plethon (b. *c.* 1355-d. 1452/54), a very original mind and the promoter of a return to Platonist paganism, Gennadius Scholarios (b. *c.* 1400-d. 1473), defender of traditional Aristotelianism, and the metropolitan of Nicaea Basilios Bessarion (b. 1403-d. 1472), who studied under Plethon and who was appointed cardinal in as early as 1439, after his conversion to Catholicism and his choice to settle in Italy to better support the cause of the Greeks. I will recount later the Platonic Renaissance these men imported to the West. Even if the council itself was a failure not only on the theological and ecclesiastical level, but also concerning the call to the crusade, it had remarkable effects on Italian culture and, more generally, on Europe. Bessarion in particular gathered over the years an impressive personal collection of a thousand manuscripts, which he bequeathed to the Republic of Venice in 1468, the Library of San Marco or Marciana, thus establishing one of the most important Greek collections in the world (see Märtl, Kaiser & Ricklin 2013).

By 1468, an important part of Greek literature was known in the original and in the Latin translations of the humanists, according to a program which had been set up throughout the Quattrocento, and the teaching of Greek had become inescapable in all significant Italian cities and remains in the curriculum and at tertiary level until today – not only in Italy, for that matter. The first philological achievements took place then, with Lorenzo Valla's criticism of the Vulgate, Angelo Poliziano's research, among other things on the Greek expressions of the Digest (*graeca*, for which see the Introduction), Niccolò Perotti, who was also Bessarion's assistant and intellectual collaborator, and Ermolao Barbaro, to name but a few protagonists. One piece is still missing from my historical picture of the Renaissance of Greek studies in the West, namely its widespread

diffusion thanks to movable type printing, a technique launched at the very end of the 1440s. Some Greek characters were present in Latin printing at an early stage, because of the Greek quotations featuring in Roman authors, but it is usually assumed that Greek editions began in 1471 with the printing of Manuel Chrysoloras' *Erotemata* (Venice, Adam von Ambergau). The year 1488 is also to be remembered, since it saw the production in Florence by the printer Lorenzo de' Alopa of Homer's *editio princeps* and then those of some other classical authors, prepared by Demetrios Chalcondyles (b. 1423-d. 1511). At the end of the century, the Roman printer Aldo Manuzio (b. *c.* 1450-d. 1515) began to produce in Venice his Greek editions, including several pioneering *principes* – at this time, the printing of Greek was flourishing in several Italian cities. These first editions constituted the basis for new ones, revised and corrected throughout the sixteenth century and afterward; the printing revolution therefore boosted the development of Greek philology in Western Europe, guaranteeing a tremendous intellectual legacy for the renaissance of Greek studies.

3.2. Greek Studies Making a Difference

What was the precise impact of these Greek studies in the late Middle Ages on European intellectual history? Of course, it would lead me too far astray to go through all the effects that Greek studies have had on humanism, which they have practically accompanied since its inception. I will instead suggest here a few paths that seem to me to be crucial. First of all, an interdisciplinary and methodological point is central to humanist Greek studies: the debate on translations from Greek into Latin – the best illustration of which is the 1420 work of Leonardo Bruni *De interpretatione recta*, outlining the first modern translation theory. It produced a major semantic shift in intellectual history, and the Latin term *interpretatio*, originally 'translation', gradually took the meaning of 'interpretation' in the modern sense, that is to say, explaining a text in all of its facets and its historical perspective.[9] So other Latin terms have been used to refer to the no-

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[9] The Greek equivalents are *exegesis* (ἐξήγησις) and *hermeneia* (ἑρμηνεία); as a word for 'translation', Greek has *metaphrasis* (μετάφρασις) alongside *hermeneia*.

tion of 'translation' itself, namely *translatio* and *traductio*, which still denote 'translation' in many modern European languages. Bruni's work is thus at the origin of the modern hermeneutical concept.

Another aspect that goes back to the time of Salutati and Bruni is the development of a current of political thought, particularly a republican one, powerfully fed by Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* and by Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* (but also by other Greek authors such as Herodotus and Xenophon) alongside Latin classics like the *First Decade* of Livy or Cicero's *De officiis* – an interest intimately linked to the need for 'national' illustration felt by the states of the Italian peninsula emerging at the beginning of the Quattrocento. Florence, both as a Republic and, under the Medicis, as a *signoria*, was the first to use the study of classics for its propaganda; Rome, after the end of the Great Schism in 1417, was willing to become a new and splendid capital of Latin Christianity; Venice boasted of its republican oligarchic model and created thus its own myth of a regime of freedom; the duchy of Milan also found clues to legitimize its aristocratic power in the study of antiquity. Nourished by classical masterpieces, the humanist political reflection made it possible not only to go beyond the medieval dilemma opposing the empire to the papacy, but also the traditional feudal theories, thanks to an approach of political and constitutional issues according to ancient categories.

A third notable point of impact was the effort within the scholarly world to harmonize classical culture and the Christian message. Petrarch already sought answers to this thorny issue in Aristotle's *Ethics*; later, Plato's *Phaedo*, a dialogue on the immortality of the soul, also constituted an intellectual spearhead for the renewal of Christian thought. Textual criticism of the Latin Vulgate was also essential, as shown by, among other works, Valla's *Collatio Novi Testamenti* (*c.* 1450), which pointed out hundreds of errors in St Jerome's Vulgate as it was known and copied then, thanks to a comparison with the text of the Greek New Testament. A manuscript of Valla's work was later rediscovered by Erasmus in 1505 in Leuven, in Abdij van 't Park's library, and printed in Paris. Biblical criticism was the principal reason for founding Trilingual Colleges in Alcalá, Leuven, and later on in

Paris. Because of their difficulty, these studies in biblical philology stimulated much important progress in classical philology standards during early modern times. The continuous humanist attacks of the abstractions of scholastic theology, which represented the acme of an intellectual career in the late Middle Ages, also framed within this rethinking of the relation between classical humanist and Christian culture. These various contributions fueled the long-lasting battle against the academic establishment, the leaders of which then were the theologians belonging to the mendicant orders. It also aimed at secularizing university education. Humanism would have remained a marginal phenomenon had it been confined, as it was at the beginning, to the entourage of political leaders and to small elite academies and other private cenacles. The desire to conquer the official school system was very strong from the beginning of the humanist movement. Globally, this conquest took over a century, if one thinks of the struggles at the university of Paris in the years 1530 – as recounted, for instance, by Rabelais. And even in later years Greek met with opposition.

3.3. A Heated Debate on Platonism

Another major theme is the debate on Platonism, including both the philosophy of Plato and Neo-Platonism. Besides a few early translations from Chrysoloras onward, this corpus of works was translated into Latin under the aegis of Lorenzo de' Medici by Marsilio Ficino, a great theorist of Christian Platonism who influenced humanists for decades to come. This Platonism was an indispensable part of the culture of the Renaissance. Arguments about Plato's thought were common among Greek intellectuals at that time. Plethon is the author of an essay *On the Differences between the Philosophies of Aristotle and Plato* (known as *De differentiis*),[10] written in Greek in 1439 in defense of Plato, against whom George Scholarios took a stand. In 1459, Bessarion wrote the famous plea *Against the Slanderer of Plato* (*In calumniatorem Platonis*) referring to George Trapezuntius' book

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[10] The full title is *De Platonicae atque Aristotelicae philosophiae differentiis*, Περὶ ὧν Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαφέρεται.

Comparatio philosophorum Platonis and Aristotelis, composed in 1458, in which Plato was equated with no one less than the Antichrist himself. The debate henceforth raged directly in Latin. To compose his book, Trapezuntius availed himself of, among other things, a recently recovered literary monument, Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*. Bessarion founded his work on his extraordinary knowledge of the Greek philosophical corpus as well as of medieval scholasticism, next to the ideas of Plethon. Bessarion did not only proclaim Plato's superiority over Aristotle, but showed their possible convergence and compatibility with the Church's teachings. Bessarion even went so far as to justify the controversial form of communion Plato preached in book 5 of the *Republic*, on account of the supreme good of unity and cohesion of the political community, perhaps based on the interpretation of Proclus (see Hankins 1990).

There is also a geopolitical aspect to this diatribe. The theses of George Trapezuntius appeared more intransigent in their opposition to the Eastern world and to Islam, as opposed to Plethon's and Bessarion's unifying syncretism, with its conciliatory aspirations, all ideas that Rome saw as a dangerous mixture.[11] And yet Bessarion himself was a champion of the anti-Turkish crusade, which he also advocated through his studies, for example with his translation of a speech by Demosthenes that looked ideal for a historical analogy, namely the *First Olynthian*, in which the orator invited Athens to save Olynthus from the Macedonian occupation. Platonic humanism also addressed the field of children's education, sketching out a new pedagogy: alongside Quintilian's *Institution*, its integral version found in 1416 by Poggio Bracciolini (b. 1380-d. 1459), and other Latin writings, a place of choice was occupied by Plutarch's treatise *On the Education of Children* (*De liberis educandis*), translated into Latin as early as 1411 by Guarino da Verona. Another important text was the *Discourse to Young People on How to Take Advantage of the Greek Letters* by Basil of Caesarea, even though it says much less

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[11] Related to this geopolitical interest, was the study of geography. For instance, Plethon was the author of, among other works, a *Commentary* on Strabo's *Geography*, which aimed to rectify the material errors contained in that work. This is in line with the scientific interests that prepared the epoch of great geographical discoveries.

about pagan literature than what the zealots of humanism would make one believe. These works founded a vast humanist propaganda for the new liberal education, linked to a political vocation, but also a debate on the organization of the school on a new basis, which the modern school largely inherited.

An important ideological aspect was discussed at the Council of Ferrara-Florence: the need to define a common cultural denominator for the Byzantines and the Latins, based on the ancient Greco-Roman heritage, against the Muslim Turks who were advancing toward Vienna. We see that this classical cultural denominator had as its fundamental aim the exclusion of their Turkish neighbors and the entire Arab-Muslim culture, creating a sort of cultural iron curtain, still operational today, as Edward Said's foundational *Orientalism* has pointed out (Said 2003 [1978]). To take a very clear example of these distortions, one can think of the Western names for certain postcolonial countries such as Libya, Syria, Egypt, or Lebanon, directly drawn from antiquity, regardless of their indigenous modern names and the Arabic tradition (Bisaha 2004).

Conclusion

The facts summarized here reveal a huge transformation based on linguistic competency in the language of ancient Greece, which concealed an impressive amount of knowledge related to several fields of study. I have attempted to point out to what extent this sort of intellectual revolution occurred during the late Middle Ages, mostly in Italy, although it was prepared by a widespread movement of secular ideas and new scientific interests as well as by new prejudices. I have focused on Italy, but similar paths of development were soon to be found elsewhere in Europe, too, preparing the overwhelming success of the humanist movement in early modern intellectual history.

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Abstract

Focusing on the significance of the Greek classical heritage in the European cultural context, this paper sheds light on the role of the Italian humanist movement in asserting the need for advanced Greek studies, concurrent with the decline and fall of Byzantium, then its dissemination from the courts to the main Western European universities. Beginning with Petrarch (fourteenth century), this trend can be seen both as the fruit of a long, if minor, medieval development and as the dawn of something entirely new which could only be productive in early modern times, through a cultural battle led by humanists in several countries. This paper surveys the major steps in the history of the rediscovery of Greek culture, mostly during the Italian Quattrocento, which will help to better appreciate the impact of this major change in Western culture.

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HEBREW STUDENTS AND TEACHERS ACROSS BORDERS IN THE RENAISSANCE

... saepe in ipsis apicibus latet mysterium, at apices in alienam linguam non transmigrant.

Matthaeus Adriani

1. *Translating Truth*

Language learning, be it natural or the result of deliberate decision, is never a neutral act, since languages stand for diverse cultural systems and cannot be reduced to simple sets of equivalent modes of expression. To put it quite plainly, as Émile Benveniste (1955 [1939], p. 49-55) once remarked: what is arbitrary in the linguistic sign is not its structure, composed of signifier and signified, it is rather the relationship between the sign, defined as above, and the reality or the object it purports to describe. In fact, anybody would agree that the same animal, for being designated as *Ochs* on one side of the German-French border and *bœuf* on the other, does not change its fundamental nature. However, the same could not be said as easily if we would take the Latin *lex* and the Hebrew *torah*. Here it becomes much clearer – as Ferdinand de Saussure would have it – that the constitutive relationship between the two components of a linguistic sign, signifier and signified, or form and concept, is not of an arbitrary nature but rather of an inescapable necessity. When, besides the general cultural specificity of each language, a given language is identified, *ad intra* no less than *ad extra*, as inextricably tied with a religious identity, the process by which a foreigner sets to learn it is always accompanied by extra-linguistic factors, be they incentives (to learn Arabic for a Muslim Persian or Turkish speaker, or to learn Latin for a Catholic Pole, to name just two examples) or, as it is in our case, obstacles of theological-political nature.

As soon as the two communities and religious identities were clearly parted, learning Hebrew was rather a difficult enterprise

for Christians. Two fathers of the Latin Church, Jerome and Augustine, epitomize the situation, at least for the West. As is well-known, Jerome decided to learn Hebrew even if, at first, he did it only in order to escape the temptations of the flesh, while being in the desert of Chalcis. Only afterward, from his Roman years, he recognized the importance of learning Hebrew for reading the Old Testament in the original and translating the contents rather than the mere literal aspect of Revelation. Augustine, on the other hand, deemed it pointless to learn Hebrew, since the already existing translations were generally sufficient; it could be left to some experts to check the originals, be they in Greek or in Hebrew, in case the available Latin translations would be inconsistent or conflicting. As a matter of fact, Jerome did learn Hebrew, but only in order to translate the Old Testament into Latin. In other words, Hebrew fluency was seen to better guarantee a conscientious translation, but certainly not regarded as a possible merit in itself. The contradiction between the two positions is therefore only superficial, since the two Church fathers recognized in principle the validity of translations and their efficacy in order to bring about salvation. For a very long span of time, the synthesis of their positions could be described – admittedly a little oversimplified – in the following terms: Augustine opined that a reliable translation sufficed for a meaningful acquaintance with Revelation and, besides, Jerome did such a good job as a translator that nobody needed to bother with the original.[1]

Jerome and Augustine, at the end of antiquity, set the tone for the long and only partly known history of Christian Hebraism in the Middle Ages, which cannot be traced here as it deserves. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to see how the Church fathers continued to be a lasting influence: the vast majority of Christians kept any contamination with Hebrew at bay, not knowing much of the language, and there was a mild curiosity about Hebrew which manifested itself in two domains, exegesis and polemics. The potential exegetical value of Hebrew was recognized at times:

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[1] As Cassiodorus (*De institutione divinarum litterarum* 31) pointed out: *Beatus etiam Hieronymus latinae linguae dilatator eximius, qui nobis in translatione divinae scripturae tantum praestitit, ut ad Hebraeam fontem pene non egeamus accedere*; cf. Kaulen 1868, p. 4.

Jews and converted Jews were consulted occasionally or on a more systematic basis in order to clarify difficult passages of the Old Testament. The continuity with the model set in Late antiquity extends even to the parlance of the exegetes: the patronizing formula *Hebraeus meus*, 'my Jew', was maintained from Jerome to Andrew of Saint Victor. Literature of controversy and polemics, on the other hand, especially after the diffusion of the Mendicant Orders, presented a new model of extraordinary importance. The converted Jew – such as Pablo Christiani during the disputation of Barcelona (1263), or the team of converted Jews helping Ramon Martini in the composition of his *Pugio fidei* (*c.* 1270) – sought (and sometimes perhaps forged), published, and translated Hebrew texts, always with a clear pro-Christian bias, for the sake of controversy and with a view to converting Jews, battling them with their own weapons; the Latin *convertere* comes, after all, from *vertere*, 'to translate', as if mere translation could ease the religious transition.

The translation (*translatio*) seems to have been at the center of this strategy: to transfer the original into an understandable language, occasionally going back to the source, with the help of a 'trustworthy Jew' (which seemed an oxymoron to many) only in order to check the Vulgate or to reconcile differing versions, such as the Septuagint and the Masoretic text. On the other hand, with no significant variations from the *Pugio fidei* at the end of the thirteenth century to the *Stella Messiae* of Peter Schwarz (Petrus Nigri) in the second half of the fifteenth century, the rudiments of Hebrew were acquired by some quite isolated friars in order to ease the controversy against the Jews and to foster the conversion – that is to say, as it were, their transfer to Christianity – with arguments adapted to their cultural specificity.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century something new was happening, although not everybody noticed it at once. During the first decades of the Quattrocento, some Italian humanists started learning Hebrew from a new perspective; as an almost natural consequence of their desire to read the original texts, be they in Greek, Latin or, as in the case of Poggio Bracciolini, Hebrew. The first stage of this new humanist interest in Hebrew is epitomized in two well-known letters, one written by Poggio in 1416 (from Baden, Switzerland, on his way back from the Coun-

cil of Constance) to Niccolò Niccoli. The latter, we learn from Bracciolini, had often encouraged him to start learning Hebrew (*novam novae doctrinae disciplinam, ad quam perdiscendam me saepius es hortatus*); now he had found the time and the occasion to do so, of course with the help of a baptized Jew, who was not spared in Bracciolini's jokes. From our point of view, it is particularly interesting what Bracciolini had to say concerning the utility of learning Hebrew: *quam etsi nullius usus esse conspiciam ad sapientiae facultatem, confert tamen aliquid ad studia nostra humanitatis* ('I am aware that its knowledge is useless for enhancing wisdom, but it is of some import for our study of the humanities'), as well as for understanding Jerome's style as a translator (*quia morem Hieronymi in transferendo cognovit*).[2] From what he said about his teacher, a most unstable and superficial personality, we can infer that the convert he had found as a teacher of Hebrew was less than optimal, but perhaps sufficient for Bracciolini's needs, which seem to have stemmed from a general curiosity and not from a specific research interest. In Bracciolini's works, anyway, his knowledge of Hebrew did not yield much more than a couple of half-successful jokes.

Be that as it may, other humanists went about learning Hebrew with greater seriousness in the same period. The best documented among them was not a Florentine humanist but a Venetian civil servant, Marco Lippomano. From 1420 onward, he was able to write letters in almost impeccable Hebrew to the Jewish Physician Crescas Meir, then living in Bitonto, Apulia, which have been published only recently (Busi & Campanini 2004). From yet another Hebrew letter to Lippomano, published by Daniel Stein-Kokin (2014), we know that besides his project of learning Hebrew, he wanted to add also Arabic out of a clear interest for philosophy and the sciences; a combination which recurred among later humanists. What is especially interesting is how the exchange of letters between Lippomano and Crescas Meir started under good auspices in the name of their common interest in philosophy, mostly Arabic in Hebrew translation, and science, but experienced a first crisis when the Christian, probably guided

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[2] See Garin 1952 and, in general, Bergquist 1999.

by his prejudices about Jewish familiarity with magic, asked his interlocutor for a book of magic, a request that was declined with indignation by the prudent Crescas, who perhaps was not at all interested in the subject. This very quickly led to a classical religious disputation, with reciprocal rebukes, and to a sudden halt of the conversation, for as far as it is documented by the surviving letters. Religious identity, challenged by the unusual 'invasion' of the terrain of the 'other' by an isolated, ahead-of-his-time Christian humanist, quickly reestablished its rights.

Nevertheless, again in Florence at about the same time (1420-1430), Hebrew was on the verge of becoming a standard language of learning among humanists; according to Vespasiano da Bisticci, the Hellenist Ambrogio Traversari learned some Hebrew (Cassuto 1918, p. 274-275). This is a significant piece of information if we consider that he was one of the principal teachers of Giannozzo Manetti, although not for Hebrew, as far as we know. And yet the single event which resounded the most, this time not from a theological but from a purely humanist point of view, was the rather marginal fact that Giovanni Cirignani of Lucca, who was one among many to start studying Hebrew, proudly wrote about this satisfying experience to the Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni. Cirignani's letter is lost, but Bruni's reply, a veritable manifesto against learning Hebrew, has been preserved. Bruni argued that knowing Hebrew did not prevent the Jews from being far removed from any authentic wisdom, mere antiquity being no guarantee of superior value. Bruni nevertheless saw that his arguments against learning Hebrew could be used also against his beloved Greek, which is why he hurried to add that the study of Hebrew would only be justified if the Christians had not had such perfect versions of the Scriptures as the ones provided by Jerome. If Aristotle had been translated by Jerome, he remarked, we would certainly not need to learn Greek (Dröge 1992). As a matter of fact, he seems to have been blinded as far as Hebrew was concerned, thinking that what mattered was the substance, that is wisdom, and not the form (Vanderjagt 2008), which is quite surprising for a humanist and a theoretician of translation of the quality of Bruni (Folena 1991).

This question of form and substance also occupied one of the most prominent Hebraists of fifteenth-century Florence, the

already mentioned Giannozzo Manetti, who certainly is a representative case for all the uncertainties of his epoch, torn as it was between continuity and rupture.[3] Manetti, a much better Hebraist than the few predecessors he had, with the exception of Lippomano, started learning Hebrew with a Jew who was living at Manetti's home to complete his task. After two years of training, according to Vespasiano da Bisticci's biography, that Jew not only converted but he even adopted the name of Giovanfrancesco Manetti, that is, he chose for himself the surname of his pupil-patron. Interestingly enough, Manetti himself did not record this episode, but did mention a second beginning, which took place some years later in 1442 (on Sunday November 11), when he started reading the Hebrew Bible with the assistance of a certain 'Emanuel hebreo' (see Botley 2004, p. 87-98), identified tentatively by Cassuto (1918, p. 276) as Immanuel ben Abraham of San Miniato. Be that as it may, we do not know of a conversion of this Emmanuel; if he had been baptized, Giannozzo himself or his biographers almost certainly would have recorded this event, just as the already mentioned Vespasiano da Bisticci did for Manetti's first teacher as well as for yet another Jew, a physician of Spanish origin. After his baptism, which he received from Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, this convert was named Giovanni Agnolo, a contraction of the names of his two instructors: Agnolo Acciaiuoli and Giovanni (Giannozzo) Manetti (Cagni 1971).

2. *Jewish Teachers*

The Jews recorded in Manetti's biography are representative of the main different types of scholars of Jewish background documented for the sixteenth century, as I aim to illustrate in the remainder of this contribution: (1) converted teachers; (2) mobile Jews from Spain, both well before and after their expulsion in 1492; but also (3) Jews not converting to Christianity, although being in close and daily contact with Christians. A poorly documented, intermediate case is represented by at least two figures,

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[3] See Dröge 1987. For a different perspective on the balance between apologetics and genuine interest for Hebrew philology, see Lelli 2004.

which can be seen as anticipating the vicissitudes of the *marranos* in terms of both their course of life and their intellectual activities: Flavius Mithridates from Sicily and Libertas Cominetti from Spain. They are well known figures and have already been studied extensively in the past; I refer to them here since they best exemplify the liquid identity which took shape, at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, in connection with the instruction of Christian patrons-pupils.

The case of Jacob Cominetti is particularly striking since he was a physician who, after being expelled from Spain, found refuge in Italy, was baptized, and chose the very telling name of Libertas ('Freedom'). It is most likely that he instructed the future bishop Agostino Giustiniani, who quoted one of his Hebrew Christological interpretations of a passage in Psalms. He was also mentioned by Petrus Galatinus in his very successful *De arcanis catholicae veritatis*, an anti-Jewish treatise published, one should bear in mind, in Ortona a Mare by the prominent Jewish printer Gershom Soncino in 1518. Cominetti was in Rome during the Lateran Council, where he was on very friendly terms with the Augustinian Orientalist Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, but later on left Christianity in order to become a spy for the Sultan Selim I. Furthermore, if he is the Ya'aqov Comineto mentioned by the Genoese chronicler Yosef ha-Kohen who was certainly interested in putting the blame of the treachery on a baptized Jew, he was caught sending messages to the Turks besieging Rhodes in 1522 and was immediately quartered by the Christian defenders of the island. According to one source, 'he died as a good Christian'; a sentence which can only be read with astonishment.[4]

Mithridates, born Shemuel ben Nissim Abulfarag, took every advantage of his conversion with constant cynicism; he provoked the confiscation of a Jewish inheritance actually reserved for the Sicilian Jewish youth in order to finance his own academic career. Moreover, in his libertine glosses to the Hebrew-Latin translations he made for Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in 1486, he did not hide his skepticism toward both Judaism and Christianity. In one instance, he dared to provoke his patron by observing that

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[4] For a synthesis of the known facts about Cominetti, see Campanini 2004.

the only reasonable conversion was an opportunistic one: from an oppressed minority cult to a dominant confession. He even quite boldly added that this was precisely his choice, and not the other way around, as Pico – according to his malicious comment – was planning to do. This does not mean that Pico was considering converting to Judaism; Mithridates imputed to Pico the intention to go to the Bohemians (*ire ad Boemos*), by which he meant one of the Hussite factions (cf. Campanini 2008, p. 83-84; see also Busi 2016, p. 238-239 & 333).

The importance of Pico in the frame of this discussion cannot be underestimated, since he also represents a good instance of the first type; a Spanish rabbi named Isaac, who worked for him as an interpreter of Hebrew texts, was converted by him and brought to baptism. The rabbi later on – in 1493 – became a Dominican friar named Clemente Abramo under the co-patronage of Pico and Savonarola. But the most important point concerning Pico is the value he attached to the Hebrew original of Scripture. With Pico we enter the second phase of Christian Hebraism; the apologetic or proto-philological attitude of Giannozzo Manetti was superseded by the discovery of Kabbalah. This was the major driving force behind Pico della Mirandola's Hebraist conclusions, and it led to the true beginning of a new type of Christian Hebraism, centered on the acquisition of the knowledge of Hebrew by the Christians, in the persuasion that the Hebrew text of the Bible was significant *per se* and *in se*. In one of his famous conclusions, Pico, who was convinced that the Kabbalah was the *via regia* for understanding the mystery of Revelation and the most convincing confirmation of the truth of Christianity, wrote that

> *Nullae sunt litterae in tota lege quae in formis, coniunctionibus, separationibus, tortuositate, directione, defectu, superabundantia, minoritate, maioritate, coronatione, clausura, apertura, et ordine, decem numerationum secreta non manifestentur.*[5]

> There are no letters in the whole Law which in their forms, conjunctions, separations, crookedness, straightness, defect, excess, smallness, largeness, crowning, closure, openness, and order, do not reveal the secrets of the ten numerations.

[5] Farmer 1998, p. 359. It is thesis n. 33 of the first series according to the secret doctrine of the Hebrew Cabalist wisemen.

The vindication of the letter of Revelation, through the Kabbalistic method, explains why only after Pico, following him and bringing his intuitions to their logical consequences, Christian humanists started producing grammars and dictionaries of Hebrew: in order to overcome the scarcity of Jews in many European countries such as in France, in some parts of Germany, in England, from 1492-1497 onward in the entire Iberian Peninsula, and later on also in large areas of Italy.

The Christian Kabbalist Johannes Reuchlin showed he was aware of this situation in the preface to his 1506 Hebrew grammar with extensive Hebrew-Latin dictionary (*De rudimentis Hebraicis*), which was designed for teaching Hebrew to oneself or for assisting a non-Jewish teacher in the classroom. Reuchlin had been the pupil of two or perhaps three Jewish teachers who did not convert: the poorly known Calman Judaeus, the imperial physician Jacob ben Yechiel Loans, and the Italian physician, philosopher and exegete Obadiah Sforno (Campanini 1999; 2018b). In his preface, Reuchlin mentioned the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula and urged the Christians to learn Hebrew, since the perspective of a 'world without Jews', to use the title of the book by Alon Confino (2014), seemed to become menacingly real. One cannot avoid to see the contradiction or rather the dialectical tension between the desire to learn Hebrew and appropriate the Jewish tradition (not only the contested 'original' of Scripture, but also the Jewish exegetical tradition, precisely out of the persuasion that form, in the case of Revelation, is an essential part of its substance) and the fact that the Jewish presence in Europe, once taken for granted at a time when the Christians could dispense with any 'Jewish' knowledge without developing a bad conscience, was seriously risking extinction both through conversion and expulsion. The old Augustinian idea of the Jews as 'witness people', source of so many sufferings for them, was taking an unexpected turn. If *salus ex Iudaeis* ('salvation is from the Jews'), as the gospel of John has it (4:22), how can Christians inherit salvation without substituting the Jews? And once that should happen, whence would Christianity derive its legitimacy, its historical-theological necessity? This mind-boggling paradox was at the very heart of the Christian confrontation with Judaism, illustrating if not explaining its powerful and extremely dangerous charge of ambivalence.

Only within this dialectical tension, the implications of the relatively brief period of widespread interest for Hebrew among Christians become understandable. Its beginning and end can be dated more or less conventionally, but not arbitrarily as follows: one can regard 1486, the year in which Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusiones* were published, as the beginning of Christian Kabbalah, with its consequences in view of a possible reversal of the chain of tradition legitimizing Christianity. 1553, the year of the burning of the Talmud in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, can be seen as the date of the renewed parting of Christian and Jewish ways, shaping the early modern distribution of identities between Christian denominations on one hand, and Judaism on the other, both enjoying an apparent yet always provisional stability before the French Revolution and its turmoil. Christian Hebraism, of course, did not disappear altogether, especially not in Protestant countries, but from the second half of the sixteenth century it became a rather erudite, theologically harmless, and quite marginal business from a strictly academic point of view.

3. *Conversion and Instruction*

These general considerations had the sole purpose of illustrating in which context the very remarkable expansion of the study of Hebrew among Christians took place, why markedly different models of teacher-pupil relationships could be practiced side by side, and why this promising new phase of the secular relationships between Christians and Jews mediated by grammar – or, if one prefers, 'proto-philology' – came to a halt and did not succeed in durably shaping the canon of languages a cultivated person should know, relegating Hebrew, in spite of the vogue of comparatist orientalism, to a modest branch of theology, itself in full retreat at the dawn of modernity. The Renaissance was not only the epoch of criticism, growing stronger with the passing of time and becoming a central topic during the early stages of the Reformation, of the inadequacy of Jerome's translation and the new translations of Scripture into Latin and the vernacular languages (Campanini 2006), but also the age of the polyglot editions of the Bible or of single Bible books, and of the first and

the second Rabbinic Bible. These were published by the Christian Daniel Bomberg and edited by two converts, Felix Pratensis (or Felice da Prato) and Jacob ibn Adonijah, for a Christian and a Jewish readership alike. Notably, the latter was smart enough to keep silent about his conversion in order to avoid a Jewish boycott of his edition. In other words, this edition program was an attempt at conversion, in the sense of return, of the Christians to Jewish tradition – to abide in it, to inhabit it, as it were.

The coexistence side by side of converted and 'unrepentant' Jews in the business of instructing Christians in Hebrew is repeatedly found if one analyzes the dozens of individual destinies involved in the relationship between Hebrew instruction and conversion during the Renaissance (Campanini 2019a; 2020; see also Burnett 2000; 2009; 2012). The traditional model survived on a large scale, with converted Jews putting their previous identity and competence at the disposal of Christian patrons, pupils, and readers. These converts included Flavius Mithridates, Johannes Pfefferkorn (Adams & Heß 2017), Felix Pratensis, Paulus Riccius (Roling 2007), or the 'expert in the art of Kabbalah' (Adriani 1513, fol. [17]) of Spanish origin Matthaeus Adriani – who, after having been tied to Reuchlin and Caspar Amman, on Erasmus' recommendation, taught Hebrew at the newly founded Collegium Trilingue in Leuven, then went to Wittenberg, and was in charge of teaching Hebrew side by side with Luther and Melanchthon for a short time[6] – and finally Immanuel Tremellius, who changed his confession twice: first he was baptized a Catholic only to adhere later to the Calvinist Reformation (Austin 2007). This list is far from complete but suffices, I believe, to give an idea of the scope, the importance, and the pervasiveness of this sort of intellectual and religious conversation. A question worth asking but not easy to answer is to what extent their conversion was determined by opportunism: to make a career, to take revenge on former co-religionists, while obviously not excluding that among so many converts, some of them might even have been sincere and motivated by purely religious considerations. As this matter affects the most intimate sphere

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[6] Campanini 2018a. On other Jewish teachers of Caspar Amman and his circle, see Campanini 2019b and Zimmer 1980.

of these Jews, I am convinced that historical research in this direction is not likely to lead to groundbreaking findings, furthermore because it is biased by the diverging interpretations of the concept of faith that exist in Judaism and Christianity, divided also on this point between pragmatism and orthodoxy.

Far more interesting from my peculiar perspective are the not infrequent instances of Jews converted in the process of instructing their Christian pupils, beside the already mentioned Giovanfrancesco Manetti and Clemente Abramo, I can here recall the case of the Jew of Spanish origin Moshe Peretz of León. He was appointed by the maternal uncle (Francesco Bonfigli) of the future cardinal Gerolamo Aleandro – later bishop of Liège and champion of the confrontation with Luther at the beginning of the Reformation – to live at their home in Motta di Livenza during the winter of 1498, when Gerolamo was 18 years old, to teach Hebrew to the promising young man.[7] As Aleandro noted in his diary, Perez was not allowed by Aleandro's father Francesco to stay at the house during Lent, so he first went to Portobuffolè – a small town which had been a few years earlier the theatre for a notorious trial about the alleged kidnapping of a Christian child, in which three Jews were burnt at the stake and a fourth one committed suicide in jail (Radzik 1984) – and later on to Pordenone. Just one year later, Moshe Perez was baptized and took the telling name of Gerolamo Paolo, in honor of his former pupil. This piece of information, noted by Aleandro himself, has been eagerly recorded in all biographies of the cardinal, from the *Vitae pontificum* of Chacón (1630, p. 623), Ughelli (1662, col. 53) to Mazzuchelli (1753, p. 410), Liruti (1760, p. 456-506), and Perocco (1839, p. 33-38).

Aleandro's peculiar reason for mentioning the teacher's conversion can be found in the malignant statements of Erasmus who in 1520, in order to combat the legate bringing the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* to the Holy Roman Empire, did not shy away from accusing Aleandro in his letters and also in the *Acta Academiae Lovaniensis contra Lutherum* – published anonymously in 1520 and soon attributed to Luther, but most prob-

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[7] On Aleandro's Hebrew teacher, see Degan 2002, p. 76; Tommasi & Tommasi 2012, p. 64-65. On Aleandro himself, see e.g. Omont 1895; Paquier 1900.

ably the work of Erasmus – of being born a Jew, surmising that Aleandro's fluency in Hebrew derived from the fact that it was his mother tongue. Even a fierce enemy of Aleandro such as Ulrich von Hutten accused Erasmus of being the source of this odious gossip (cf. de Vocht 1954, p. 36, n. 3). As one can see, the most dangerous attacks on the practice of learning Hebrew came from the humanists – and not from the theologians – in a radical and not at all playful literal interpretation of the ancient accusation of 'Judaizing'. One can recall, to only name one example, the apology of Johann Böschenstein, who taught Hebrew in Wittenberg, and who felt the urge of publishing a pamphlet in 1524 in order to reaffirm that, although he was fluent in Hebrew, he was born from Christian parents (see Böschenstein 1524 and the comments in Campanini 2018a). This entanglement of learning and religious allegiance might explain the topical repetition of edifying stories concerning the Hebrew training of several intellectuals: first in order to counter the general identification of Hebrew and Jewishness, and secondly, with the addition of a report about the conversion of the Hebrew teacher, insisting on the happy ending of such a dangerous enterprise.

A further good example of this trend can be found in the (auto)biographical testimonies of the Venetian Franciscan friar Francesco Zorzi, one of the most prominent authors of the Christian Kabbalah who was quite reticent about his learning of Hebrew, but did not forget to recall the case of a 'most famous Rabbi' whom he converted and guided to baptism (Zorzi 2010, p. xvi). Perhaps the story of the Jewish preceptor of the children of the ambassador of Mantua in Venice, a Neapolitan Jew called Camillo after baptism, and converted by Zorzi in 1528, alluded to the same person. At any rate, such stories are not isolated cases, since Zorzi was accompanied and assisted by yet another former Jew, Marco Raphael, who later on adhered to the Anglican persuasion after the affair of Henry VIII's divorce (Bedouelle & Le Gal 1987, p. 413-414). From what can be reconstructed of the activity of Marco Raphael, it seems that he was active as a translator for Zorzi and looked for Hebrew, especially Kabbalistic, books among the Jews of Venice, particularly the refugees from Spain. This has recently been suggested in a study about the copy of the *Sefer ha-Peli'ah* found among the books of the physician

Damiano di Castiglia, first borrowed with a deposit of 500 ducats paid by the Consiglio dei Dieci, and later acquired by the Franciscan (Campanini 2016). This case suggests that the intermediating role of the converts should not be underestimated in studying the material aspects of Christian Hebraism in the Renaissance.

4. 'Unrepentant' Jews

Although many of the developments I have treated very cursorily in the preceding comments show remarkable elements of novelty, the figure of the convert-assistant was, strictly speaking, an element of continuity not only with medieval Christian Hebraism but even with the late antique struggle with the Hebrew text so as to 'convert' it, that is to produce a 'translation' aimed essentially at effacing the original in favor of a more familiar, domestic rendering. What was really new in this epoch, and strictly connected with the brief flourishing of Renaissance Christian Hebraism, were instead the numerous and very prominent examples of Jews assisting Christians in acquiring a reading fluency in Hebrew and providing them with fundamental tools for a well-rounded Hebraist competence *without* converting to Christianity. A few names will suffice to illustrate this point; some of them are very well-known and have been the object of monographic treatment, such as Elijah Levita (1469-1549), whose life and works have been masterfully analyzed by Gérard Weil (1963). Levita was living at the house of cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, who also had a significant number of Jewish converts working for him in his vast enterprise of translating Hebrew – especially Kabbalistic – literature into Latin. Nevertheless, Levita, assisting Egidio until the Sack of Rome (1527) and later working for the Christian Hebraist Paulus Fagius in Germany, did not convert; a fact known to everybody at the time, even to Conrad Gessner, who announced his death in his *Bibliotheca universalis*, only to correct this false piece of information in the *Errata corrige* at the end of this massive, 1000-page volume, recalling that the venerable rabbi was alive and well in Venice at the time of publication (1545).

The same was true for the famous physician Jacob Mantino or, even more prominently, of the philosopher and grammarian Abraham de Balmes, who worked closely in his last years with the publisher Daniel Bomberg and the cardinal Domenico Grimani (Campanini 1997). A similar fate lay in store for the polemicist, scholar, and scribe Abraham Farissol, portrayed by David Ruderman (1981), who was in contact with all the major Christian Hebraists of his time, especially with Pico della Mirandola, Ficino, and François Tissard who initiated Christian Hebraism in France. Farissol did not only proudly remain a Jew, but he even wrote an articulated apology of Judaism against the accusations of the Christians in his audacious *Magen Abraham*. A case studied only recently concerns the 'great Kabbalist' Judah ben Shelomoh of Mantua, a sort of 'personal Jew' of cardinal Federico Fregoso, living with him and supporting his Kabbalistic studies as well as the iconographic and Hebraist program of his private chapel near Gubbio, where monumental Hebrew inscriptions decorate the walls of the church (Campanini 2015-2016; see also Perani 2015-2016). A final example – but the list could easily be augmented – is represented by the already mentioned exegete and philosopher Obadiah Sforno, who was repeatedly mentioned with great honor by his pupil Johannes Reuchlin, although he remained Jewish to the end of his days (Campanini 2019c).

It would be worthwhile to consider the Jewish side of this rapprochement. Here, I will only be able to offer some brief indications. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Campanini 1996; 2018b), Sforno – who translated his own philosophical work *Or 'Ammim* into Latin and authored a Latin grammar of Hebrew for a Christian patron – justified his effort by arguing that the gentiles are called upon to recognize the superiority of Judaism and to turn, in the end times, toward Zion, framing his own enterprise in this eschatological context. More polemically, in his introduction to the *Miqneh Avram*, de Balmes remarked that he would have preferred not to publish his Hebrew-Latin grammar with Christians, but that the Jews of Venice, too busy with mundane affairs, did not leave him any other choice. Levita, in his Hebrew-Latin rabbinic dictionary bearing the title *Tishby*, went much further, expressing his sympathy for the figure of Jesus, without in the least giving up on his dignity and his proud adhesion to Judaism.

5. *Impossible Neutrality*

The crossing of the borders, the multiplied occasions of contact, the polyglot editions of Scripture, and the Jewish worried reaction to the new appropriation of their cultural heritage – as testified by the *responsum* of Eliah Menachem Chalfan on teaching Hebrew to non-Jews, prescribing to refrain from revealing 'secrets' but allowing the teaching of Hebrew in order to enable the gentiles to perform the Noachic precepts (Kaufmann 1897) – I believe sufficiently explain the subsequently prevailing climate of mistrust and the aggressive renewal of identity-centered thinking, certainly favored by the deep crisis in Western Christianity caused by the Reformations, the Catholic no less than the Protestant. The grandchildren of Elijah Levita, Vittorio and Giovanni Battista Eliano, were both baptized, anticipating as it were the similar fate of the descendants of Moses Mendelssohn, the protagonist of a different season of dialogue, which can be seen, in hindsight, as most sadly failed.

What was never given, not even at the highpoint of Jewish-Christian collaboration during the Renaissance, was neutrality: the purely philological ideal type of a neutral confrontation with the very word of God and the best way to understand it. The original of Scripture revealed itself very soon as a mirage, as it was always embedded in an interpretive tradition and a performing community; this would become painfully clear in the following century, at the height of the lacerating controversy on the vowel points in Scripture. To continue my comparison of conversion and translation, the ideal sought by some humanists, especially Christian Kabbalists and early Reformers, was a mythical *accessus ad fontem*, a sort of self-effacing translation, destined, just as Wittgenstein's ladder, to vanish once one had reached the uncontaminated source. Precisely that was not granted to the Hebraists of the Renaissance, who saw their coveted ideal indefinitely postponed. What remained was the fascination, typically Christian, although oscillating through the epochs, for a language, Hebrew, which is so inextricably linked to a culture, a religion, and even an ethnos, that it can explain the peculiar failures and rather unique features of Hebraism to this very day.

Despite the mutual attraction between both groups, a similar reservation was also felt from the Jewish side, as can be docu-

mented in many ways. I will limit myself in conclusion to quote a colophon, convinced as I am that the still unwritten story of the relationship between Hebrew learning and conversion has to be based on marginalia (glosses and paratexts *in primis*); such small notes in the shadow of the immutable text appear to be a most appropriate place to search for sincere sentiments. In the manuscript Vat. Ebr. 408 of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, containing a nice and clean copy of the Josippon, that is the Hebrew adaptation of Flavius Josephus, already a telling example of personal no less than literary border crossing from antiquity, the copyist Elijah ben Moses stated that he copied the book in the year 1444 for 'a Christian' (*noṣri*), namely Giannozzo Manetti, in Fano. The Christian Hebraist was in town for a diplomatic mission on behalf of the city of Florence to the count Francesco Sforza, and the copyist added that he was paid by Andrea of Antonio de li Lenzi. The point which deserves special attention here is the formula employed at the end by Elijah ben Moses, not the usual 'may the Lord allow him to understand, or benefit from, the book', but a prayer for the quick advent of redemption:

ותשלם מלאכת הקדש בחמישי בשבת בעשרי' ושמנה בכסליו בשנת
מאתים וארבעה לפרט האלף הששי ליצירה על ידי אליא המלמד
בכאמ"ר משה ז"ל וכתבתי אותו הנה בפאנו עבור נצרי אחד שמו ינוצו
מניטי מפייורינצא שבא הנה עבור משרורי מפייורינטיני לאדון קונטי
פרנציסקו שיחיה וקבלתי שכירותי משלם ע"י אנטרא"ה דאנטוניאו
דלילנצי ה' שזיכני להשלימו הוא יזכני לראות בבניין היכלו ואולמו
וישלח לנו משיחנו ובא לציון גואל לגאלינו, ונפוצות יהודה יקבץ עם
כל בני ישראל יגל יעקב ישמח ישראל. וכתבתי אותו בכמו ח' שבועות
כבודך י"י.

May the Lord who made me worth completing it, make me also worth seeing the building of his Temple, and may he send to us our Messiah; may our Redeemer come to Zion and bring about our redemption, gathering the exiled of Judah with all the children of Israel. May Jacob rejoice and Israel be glad. (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Ebr. 408, fol. 153r; see Pasternak 2018)

If I am not mistaken, the very use of pronouns and possessives discreetly betrays a slight discomfort, across the borders, as it were, and between the lines.

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Abstract

After a few pioneering experiences, learning Hebrew in the Renaissance became somehow fashionable among the Christians through the combination of two powerful factors, both at the core of the humanist program: the renewed thrust toward the 'original' or 'classical' Greek and Latin legacy of antiquity and the various attempts at setting the Word of God at the center of a renewal of Christianity. Adding Hebrew to the classical languages of the humanist canon, in the persuasion that it was the original language of God, the mother tongue of Jesus, and the key to the prophecies of the Bible, seemed unescapable. Yet, major difficulties arose quickly: in order to learn Hebrew, one had to rely on Jewish instructors, be they converted or convertible, forcing both sides to overcome centuries of mutual fear, contempt, and diffidence. The perception of the border separating Jews and Christians became more evident precisely at a time when it was most frequently crossed, triggering a strong reaction centered on the aspect that was felt as mostly endangered: religious identity. On the basis of evidence gathered from several case studies concerning various European regions the present survey analyzes the connection between teaching and learning Hebrew, on the one hand, and the early modern crisis, or reshaping, of religious identity across Europe at the dawn of the Renaissance. When observed from this vantage point, a personal dilemma such as conversion becomes a problem of historical dimensions and can contribute to enlighten a still neglected aspect of the age immediately preceding, and leading up to, the Reformation.

PART II
NEW FOUNDATIONS
INSTITUTES, METHODS, MANUALS

TOON VAN HAL
KU Leuven

INSTITUTIONALIZING TRILINGUAL LEARNING

THE FOUNDATION OF HEBREW AND GREEK CHAIRS AT EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In a seminal contribution, Erika Rummel (1992) has shown that historians often disagree about aspects of the rise of humanist 'New Learning'. For instance, the question arises whether humanists radically attacked scholastics, or whether they primarily wanted to place different emphases in the existing curriculum, for instance by promoting rhetoric and demoting dialectics within the trivium. It is also difficult to assess the weight of the truly ideological and methodological points of divergence in a debate in which a general resistance to change – innovation being considered a vice rather a virtue – and more prosaic considerations of career and ambition played an important additional role (Rummel 1992). Rummel argues that this debate between the champions of traditional and new learning was fundamental indeed, but that especially in the first half of the sixteenth century tensions rose, mainly through the very complex and sensitive intermingling of the reformers' debate (Rummel 1992, p. 720), which was already intense before Luther took center stage. Another issue is to what extent universities effectively stimulated or blocked novel approaches such as the 'New Learning'. Paul F. Grendler (2004, p. 1) starts one of his papers as follows:

> A persistent view holds that Renaissance universities were conservative homes of outmoded knowledge. Professors droned on about Aristotle when they should have been teaching Copernicus and Galileo. Innovative research and religious revolution went on outside the lecture halls.

In the remainder of his article, Grendler takes issue with the idea that universities around 1500 were arid, rigid, and calcified

scholastic echo chambers, where external attempts at renewal and innovation were structurally hampered. Instead, he argues that they were more innovative and attuned to new learning.

The travel routes of the New Learning are debated too. Italian humanists are generally credited with having introduced the New Learning across Europe. Today there still is a general tendency to mention the Renaissance, humanism, and Italy in the same breath. To a large extent, this has been the result of Jacob Burckhardt's (1818-1897) historiographical work, which promoted an Italocentric notion of the Renaissance and, concomitantly, humanism. Burckhardt's influence has been so pervasive that today we find it hard to imagine that in early Romanticism, Italy was often simply skipped over in treatments of the Renaissance (Ferguson 1948, p. 126). Today, some historians believe that the 'Italian monopoly' in this regard should at least be adjusted somewhat (see e.g. Rundle 2019). A related question concerns the role of constitutive individuals: to what extent are we indebted to specific humanists such as Manuel Chrysoloras (*c.* 1355-1415) or Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536)?

This contribution does not seek to begin settling any of these issues. Rather, it aims to contribute to the debate by focusing on the early sixteenth-century efforts to institutionalize a specific, vital, and constitutive part of New Learning, viz. the *combined study of Greek and Hebrew along with Latin*. By examining the foundation of trilingual institutes and initiatives over Europe, we can learn more about the integration and incorporation of humanist approaches into the early modern university system. 'The trilingual story has been told many times and from many perspectives', Johanna Weinberg (2019, p. 129) rightly observes. On the occasion of their 500th anniversaries, there has been renewed interest in the history of the earliest trilingual colleges (Alvar Ezquerra 2016; Cabañas González & Aguadé Nieto 2014; Domingo Malvadi 2014; Papy 2017b, 2018). Yet scholars have seldom compared attempts to institutionalize this 'trilingualism' in Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century.[1]

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[1] Allen's (1934) survey article was deliberately limited to a discussion of three detailed examples. More than forty years later, Lowry (1976, p. 408) noted that Allen's article remained the most substantial discussion of the subject for the time

Concentrating on trilingual plans and undertakings – including those that failed to materialize – and their interrelationships, this paper mainly aims to inspire further discussion. To this effect, a short journey through early sixteenth-century trilingual Europe is followed by a number of more general observations on trilingual learning.

1. *Early Greek and Hebrew Chairs*

The literature generally highlights the prominence of four trilingual colleges in the early sixteenth century: Alcalá (1508), Leuven (1517), Wittenberg (1518), and Paris (1530). There was, however, much more trilingual activity, especially in German-speaking Europe. The following outline, largely based on secondary literature, is primarily of a descriptive nature and makes no claim to be comprehensive. In this section, the emphasis is on trilingual initiatives other than the four mentioned above. The final section, offering more general observations, will then briefly set the better-known trilingual centers in their broader contexts. Thus, we will be able to begin appreciating the distinctiveness of each of these institutes.

The pioneering role accorded to the Italian peninsula when it comes to studying Greek is well-known (Constantinidou & Lamers 2020). Italy is also of prime significance for the production of Hebrew books (Shear & Hacker 2011). In the first year of the sixteenth century, the Venice printer Aldus Manutius (1449-1515) announced a trilingual edition of the Bible, which failed to materialize (Allen 1934, p. 138; see on Aldus's dreams also Lowry 1976). Nevertheless, Italy is not often studied through the prism of 'trilingualism', probably due to the relative absence of theologians from the universities (cf. Grendler 2004). As early as 1480, Hebrew and Greek were offered at the Roman La Sapienza university (Berns 2015, p. 28), but it would take almost 50 more years before Agazio Guidacerio (1477-1542) was appointed to the first Hebrew chair, established by Pope Leo X

being. To the best of my knowledge, that observation still stands for another forty years later. The Latin noun *trilinguitas* which occasionally appears in the secondary literature does not seem to have been in use among early modern scholars.

(Burnett 2012, p. 29). In the 1520s, the University of Bologna had both a professor of Greek and one of Hebrew and Chaldean (i.e. Aramaic; Grendler 2002, p. 15). Turning to the Iberian peninsula, Martin Biersack (2019, p. 28) observed that the Spanish humanists' 'triumphal march through Spanish universities' exactly coincided with the Reconquista. In 1508, when Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517) established the College of San Ildefonso, the first trilingual college, this initiative had first and foremost religious goals (Rummel 1999, p. 54), aiming at the production of the very first polyglot Bible (see an important footnote in Van Liere 2003, p. 1095). From 1512 onward, probably until 1545, Alfonso de Zamora (1474-1544) taught Hebrew. Before accepting the chair in Alcalá, he had shown interest in a similar chair at the university of Salamanca (de Prado Plumed 2014, p. 454). In Coimbra, Greek and Hebrew classes seem to have been institutionalized in the 1540s, under the guidance of Vicente Fabricio and Edmundo Roseto respectively (Buescu 1984, p. 52; Anon. 1987, p. 43).

Trilingual activity in the Holy Roman Empire looks extraordinarily multifaceted. Under Philip the Upright, Elector Palatine of the Rhine from 1476 to 1508, Heidelberg became a vivid center of humanist learning. In the first stage, renowned humanists such as Rudolph Agricola (1443-1485) and Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) stayed at the court while lecturing at the university without being appointed. Agricola's move to Heidelberg was prompted in part by the possibility of learning Hebrew from a highly acclaimed converted Jew (Van der Poel 1997, p. 15, 278; Van der Laan & Akkerman 2002, p. 6 and passim). By the end of the fifteenth century Reuchlin proposed the elector appoint his brother Dionysius as an unpaid professor of Greek, and Philip agreed. However, the university resisted – older literature refers to the anti-humanist reflex of the scholastic university, while more recent scholarship is more cautious in this regard. Just a few years later, the atmosphere or the general context had entirely changed, given that the *Artes* institute did request to hire a professor of Hebrew. Johannes Oecolampadius (Johann Huszgen; 1482-1531) may have offered Greek lessons in 1514, even though a permanent position for Greek was not established before 1524. In the same year, Sebastian Münster (1480-1553) was attracted

as Professor of Hebrew. However, Münster and Simon Grynaeus (1493-1543), the chair of Greek, would both soon leave the university and move to the University of Basel, as their salaries proved insufficient. The inadequate stipend had also caused Münster's predecessor, Johann Böschenstein (1472-1540), to leave Heidelberg (see also Hautz 1862, p. 367-378; Holzberg 1987, p. 81-87; Flood 2003).

In Wittenberg, the university's founding documents of 1502 show that both Emperor Maximilian and Frederick III, Elector of Saxony were eager to stimulate novel approaches (Miletto & Veltri 2012, p. 1). This fresh look led to scholars with humanist profiles being attracted to Wittenberg before Greek and Hebrew courses were truly institutionalized. Nicolaus Marschalk (d. 1525), professor at Wittenberg from its foundation until 1505, might have offered private lessons in Hebrew (Miletto & Veltri 2012, p. 5). Marschalk, who reportedly missed out on an appointment at the university of Erfurt because of his anti-scholastic outlook, had earlier been working as a printer, and issued an *Introductio ad litteras Hebraicas utilissima* and *Introductio perbrevis ad Hebraicam linguam* in 1501 and 1502, respectively. In a private Wittenberg school, the *Schola philymnea*, Tillmann Conradi claimed to have offered courses in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, even though Kipf (2005, p. 462) does not attach any credence to it. By the end of 1518, the regular curriculum of the university listed courses in Hebrew and Greek. After some detours, Marschalk started teaching jurisprudence at the University of Rostock as an extraordinary professor from 1510 onward. In 1514 he relaunched his private printshop, where he printed two years later his own *Rudimenta prima linguae Hebraicae*. In 1522 Marschalk was permitted to teach the New Testament 'in twenn tunghen alsze grekesch [Greek] vnnd jodesch [Hebrew]', for which he was paid an additional 50 guilders. This phrase is puzzling: what is meant by the Hebrew version of the New Testament? Marschalk was most likely teaching Hebrew through his 1516 *Rudimenta* (Koppmann 1887, p. 113; Pluns 2007, p. 142-143; Miletto & Veltri 2012, p. 3-4; Lange 2014, p. 50-51).

In Leuven, too, private lessons in Hebrew and Greek predated the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue in 1517 (see de Vocht 1951-1955 and Papy 2018). An early initiative also took shape

in Augsburg, where the plans of Johann Faber (1470-1522), a Dominican prior, to establish a trilingual college had reached an advanced stage. Faber had support from Emperor Maximilian, who had appointed him to the Imperial Council in about 1515. In 1517, the influential banker Jakob Fugger (1459-1525) is said to have approached the pope to explore ways of funding. The literature suggests that this undertaking was modeled on the college in Leuven. However, the Leuven institute could only be established after August 1517, when its *legatus* Hieronymus Busleyden passed away unexpectedly. While Busleyden's bequests led directly to the institutionalization of the Leuven Trilingue, Maximilian's death in 1519 brought the Augsburg project to a halt (Costil 1939, p. 34; Ferguson 1978, p. 339). Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) seems to have laid the foundations of a trilingual college in Mainz, though it remains unclear to what extent it was realized (Strauß 1858, p. 370; Allen 1934, p. 139). While visiting Erasmus in the Low Countries, Justus Jonas (1493-1555) was appointed rector of the University of Erfurt *in absentia* in 1519. He immediately reformed the curriculum by establishing chairs of Greek and Hebrew (Posset 2003, p. 16; Holder 2009, p. 84). He proudly stated:

> *Nosti aliquando gymnasium illud vetus Erph., in quo sophistae usque adeo occupant omnia, ut tota literaria resp. ad pauculas quasdam et frigidas argutias dialecticas contracta videretur [...]? Abfui ad sesquimensem. In tantulo tempore novata sunt omnia. Longe aliam invenio scholam quam reliqui.* (Kawerau 1884, p. 25)

> Do you remember our old Erfurt gymnasium, in which the sophists [viz. the scholastic scholars] had everything so much in hand, that the whole republic of letters seemed to be reduced to some sneering and bloodless dialectical sophistry [...]? For a month and a half I was absent. In no time at all, everything was completely renewed. I find a very different school from the one I had left behind.

In Vienna, the official professorial coats were, from a certain moment – it would be interesting to find out what date – equipped with three cloth tongues. Hence, it was suggested that university lecturers had mastered the three so-called sacred languages, which was of course far from the truth (Ritter von Asbach 1877, p. 134-135). The first Greek chair was established in 1523, a He-

brew one following ten years later (Ritter von Asbach 1877, p. 117). In 1539, Johann Fabri (1478-1541), bishop of Vienna, founded a separate collegium trilingue, aimed at a dozen poor students. Nicolaus Winmann (1510-*c.* 1550), who had been teaching Greek and Hebrew in Ingolstadt before, was attracted to serve as its president. However, the initiative died together with its founder, barely two years later (Bietenholz 1985; Mühlberger 2015, p. 27).

In 1527, Marburg witnessed the foundation of the first Protestant university. In its oldest statutes, one reads at the very beginning that it is explicitly conceived as a universal and trilingual school (*commune studiorum Gymnasium atque illud trilingue*; Koch 1868, p. 10-11; Heinemeyer 1979; Schäufele 2020). In 1541, Abraomas Kulvietis Ginvilonis (Abraham Culvensis Gynvilonis; 1509-1546) opened the first trilingual college in Vilnius, perhaps modeled on the Leuven Collegium Trilingue (Pociūtė 2014, p. 161). Kulvietis was soon persecuted on religious grounds and took refuge in Königsberg, where another Protestant university had been founded in 1544. Kulvietis was offered the chair of Greek there (Pociūtė 2014, p. 161; Lepri 2019, p. 1).

Between 1523 and 1525, the Zurich Reformers Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) and Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) designed a lectorium for the training of new pastors. This lectorium, known as the Prophecy, organized public lectures in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin – one hour per language. Jacob Ceporinus (Wiesendanger; 1499-1525), Conrad Pellican (1478-1556), and Rudolph Collin (1499-1578) were among the earliest teachers. The lessons were organized as follows:

> The exercise began with a student reading a passage in Latin from the Vulgate. Following this reading, the Hebrew instructor, first Ceporinus, later Pellican, examined the original Hebrew text, offering any explanation necessary to illuminate the text. Next, Zwingli read the passage in Greek from the Septuagint, followed by a translation into Latin. (Snavely 2000, p. 75)

In the afternoon, the New Testament was analyzed in a similar vein. Zwingli's and Bullinger's pedagogical agenda was inspired by Erasmus's Leuven undertakings (see Backus 2015, p. 338-341; Goeing 2016, p. 132).

Greek and Hebrew were introduced as new subjects not only at universities, but also in some renowned lower schools in the Holy Roman Empire. Together with Alexander Hegius (1440-1498) and Agricola, Rudolf von Langen of Everswinkel (d. 1519) took the initiative of establishing a humanist center in Aduard, close to Groningen, where proto-humanist Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489) had obtained an astonishing command of Hebrew (Oberman 1993, p. 114-116). Returning to Münster, his birth region, Rudolf succeeded in founding a humanist program – first by attracting Johannes Murmellius (1480-1517) for the Latin courses (1500), then by introducing courses in Greek and Hebrew (in 1512 & 1517, respectively; Stupperich & Guenther 1985). Earlier still, Hegius had already introduced Greek as a new subject at his Latin school in Deventer (Matthews 1988, p. 378). In 1519, the Lubrański Academy introduced Greek and some elementary Hebrew into pre-university education in Poznan (Nowicki 2019). Hebrew and Greek were also offered from an early stage at the gymnasium of Magdeburg (Nahrendorf 2015). Trilingual initiatives seem to have been taken in monasteries too. The Benedictine monk Nicolaus Ellenbogius (1483-1543) is said to have founded a trilingual college at Ottobeuren monastery, close to Augsburg, in the year of his death (Mabillon 1685, p. 44-45).

Scholars have speculated that Greek may have been taught in Cracow as early as 1438, but it is certain that Italian scholars Giovanni Silvio Siculus and Costantino Claretti de Cancellieri established classes in Greek there around 1500 and 1506, respectively. After being appointed Bishop of Cracow in 1524, Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535) stimulated the New Learning at the university. The vacant chair of Greek was filled, and he also established a chair of Hebrew, for which he invited a certain David Leonard, a Jewish scholar who – with Tomicki as godfather – converted to Catholicism. In 1530 he published a Hebrew primer (Tyloch 1985, p. 131; Stopka & al. 2000, p. [55]; Frankowicz 2016; see also Pietkiewicz 2020).

In present-day France, the Paris Collège Royal is especially well-known (today: Collège de France). Its foundation only materialized in 1530, even though the plans dated back to 1517. A vivid trilingual atmosphere was much older still (Kessler-Mesguich 2013; Sanchi 2020; see also Fumaroli 1998). The

Greek lessons offered by Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542) in the first decade of the sixteenth century were very popular. Under the impetus of Jean de Tartas (Tartesius; fl. 1530), the fourteenth-century Collège de Lisieux underwent a humanistic metamorphosis, and the three languages appeared on the menu. In Bordeaux, Tartas would help found a similar school: the Collège de Guyenne, where Michel de Montaigne enjoyed his education, could rely on many professors of Greek and Hebrew (Trinquet 1964; Hopkins 2016). At the Burgundian University of Dole (Dôle), closely affiliated with the University of Leuven, the three languages were taught from the 1520s (Beaune & d'Arbaumont 1870).

In Britain, private instruction in Greek was likely already taking place by the end of the fifteenth century, both at Oxford and at Cambridge (see e.g. Botley 2010, p. 19, 96; Rundle 2019, p. 118-125). In 1511, Erasmus taught Greek at Cambridge. A permanent university tutor, Erasmus' friend Richard Croke (1489-1558), was appointed in 1518, having already taught Greek in private in Leuven in the early 1510s and as official lecturer in Leipzig three years earlier. Thomas More suggested that Croke was paid by private contributions from committed students, even though the archives point to regular payments from 1519 onward, increased in 1528. At Oxford, by 1500 Greek was already more studied than at Cambridge. The foundation of Corpus Christi College in 1516 by Richard Foxe (1448-1528), also a friendly acquaintance of Erasmus, led to the appointment of a public lecturer, who presented on Lucian, Isocrates, and Philostratus for the entire university community. Hebrew, however, was much less present in Britain. From 1535, royal funds were available to provide Greek and Hebrew classes, and five years later regius chairs were established at the universities (Leader 1983, p. 225-226; Lloyd-Jones 1983; Sowards 1993, p. 137; Rhodes 2015).

Universities founded in the course of the sixteenth century usually offered courses of Hebrew and Greek (almost) from the beginning, e.g. in Dillingen (1549, see Specht 1902, p. 62); Douai (1559, see Cardon 1892, p. 410-417), Leiden (1575, see Otterspeer 2000, p. 106-107); the Lutheran college of Stockholm (1576, see Lindroth 1976, p. 19-20), Helmstedt (1576, see Koldewey 1895, p. 32-33), Franeker (1585, see Fuks 1985 and

Jensma 1985), the 'Jesuit university' of Graz (1585, see Höflech-ner 2006, p. 7-10). The institutionalization of Greek and Hebrew studies might have taken more time elsewhere, e.g. in Jena (1558; see Steinmetz 1958) and Olomouc (1576; see Navrátil 1973, p. 47-52).

2. *General Observations*

2.1. A Massive Institutionalization?

The above outline has shown that, in a relatively short time dur-ing the first half of the sixteenth century, there were multiple attempts to establish Greek and Hebrew chairs. Such attempts proved to be most successful if they resulted from a combination of both bottom-up initiatives and top-down actions. Cisneros, for example, decided to found a trilingual college at a place where there was no vivid tradition of learning and printing Greek and Hebrew. In Alcalá, in the early days of trilingual teaching, the dire lack of Greek texts directly impacted teaching methods: one of the assignments the students had to carry out consisted of copying the Greek manuscripts their professors had been able to lay their hands on (Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 399-400). In other places, where humanist activity was already thriving, universities tended to spontaneously embrace these new subjects, albeit with varying shades of enthusiasm. The territorial fragmen-tation of the Holy Roman Empire stimulated leaders of different concurring universities to financially support humanists in order to become attractive to a new generation of students. Finally, uni-versity structures as such were reorganized so as to firmly incorpo-rate humanist learning. Between 1516 and 1525, the universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig, Erfurt, Ingolstadt, Freiburg, Greifswald, Heidelberg, Vienna, and Tübingen underwent such transfor-mations (Meuthen 1988, p. 204; see however for Greifswald the doubts voiced by Rhein 2020, p. 127). The reorganizations were often accompanied by the official installation of Greek and Hebrew chairs.

Seen through the lens of the history of language study, the emergence of these chairs can be understood as an institu-tional quantum leap in a short period of time, perhaps equaled

only by the rapid spread of Sanskrit professorships in the early nineteenth century (Rabault-Feuerhahn 2013). But everything is a matter of perspective: Burnett (2004, p. 182) describes '[t]he Hebraists of the German Reformation' as 'a surprisingly small group of scholars'. This emergence of trilingualism is thus not tantamount to saying that universities in all European regions were suddenly enriched with chairs of Greek and Hebrew. In countries around the Baltic Sea, Jannika Päll (2020, p. 437) argues, religious upheavals and territorial conflicts made a humanist breakthrough impossible before the early seventeenth century (see also Skafte Jensen 2007, p. 254; Ivleva & al. 2018). It is important to underline, moreover, that the creation of such new chairs was far from guaranteed, given that trilingualism sometimes met fierce opposition. As is well-known, the founding of the trilingual colleges in Leuven and Paris was accompanied by turmoil. The argument that this opposition came first and foremost from the universities as scholastic bastions must be nuanced and considered on a case-by-case basis (see e.g. Gielis 2018), but we must not lose sight of the fact that there were vocal hostile responses. Johann Pfefferkorn (1469-1523), a Jewish convert to Catholicism, mounted a grand campaign to destroy all Hebrew books and had Emperor Maximilian's ear. Ultimately, Reuchlin was able to prevent this action (Price 2011). Kukenheim sees, however, a significant rupture around 1540, when the pioneering humanists scored a decisive victory (Kukenheim 1951, p. 3).

In the words of Suzanne Marchand (2009, p. 95), the early nineteenth-century establishment of the Sanskrit chairs resulted from 'the lobbying of one influential man, Wilhelm von Humboldt'. Might a similar assessment apply to Erasmus, who was without any doubt a towering actor in the founding of many trilingual colleges? Educated by Hegius, he played a vital role in the establishment of the Leuven Collegium Trilingue – to which he remained committed throughout his life – but was also a partner for Faber's, eventually failed, trilingual undertaking in Augsburg and a crucial inspirational source for Fabri, Tomicki, and Zwingli. His relationship with Von Hutten became clouded because of differing views on the Reformation. If he had wished so, Erasmus could have become a key figure for the Col-

lège Royal, too, but as he foresaw problems, he put the brakes on the proposals made as early as 1517. 'The king, with very generous funds, established a trilingual college at Paris, with Budé as its president', so he reported to the Frisian scholar Haio Herman (d. *c.* 1540) at the end of January 1530. 'A long time ago I was invited to occupy this position, but I declined it'.[2] Moreover, Erasmus had connections with Alcalá and Oxford, even though it is not entirely clear to what extent Erasmus really grasped the nature of the somewhat differing structures in these places. In Alcalá, the trilingual institute belonged to the very heart of the university, whose emphasis was on the education of priests (Rummel 1999, p. 54). In the case of Corpus Christi, he seems to have taken his dreams for granted: in his correspondence, Erasmus made it appear that a new trilingual college had just been founded, even though Hebrew was not yet represented at Oxford (Sowards 1993, p. 137). In 1527, Erasmus responded enthusiastically to a letter written in Ancient Greek by Francisco de Vergara (1484-1545), a Hellenist from Alcalá:

> *Quis credidisset huc usque progressuras Graecanicas literas, ut adolescentes scriberent epistolas tam feliciter* ἑλληνιζούσας? *An expectas ut senex invideam iuvenibus?* (Allen & Allen 1928, p. 169 [= *epistula* 1876])

> Who could have thought that Greek learning would be so advanced, that young men would be composing letters in flawless Greek? Or do you expect me, as an old man, to envy youth?

Erasmus, who may be resorting to the modesty topos here, continued that he would send a copy of that Greek letter, now lost, to the Leuven Collegium Trilingue, as an incentive for the professors there.[3]

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[2] *Rex instituit Collegium Trilingue Parisiis amplissimis stipendiis, praeside Budaeo. Ad hanc provinciam olim vocabar, sed excusavi* (Allen & Allen 1934, p. 342 [= *epistula* 2261]). See also Papy 2017a.

[3] *Visum est epistolae tuae exemplar mittere Lovanium ad Collegii Trilinguis, quod ibi florentissimum est, professores, quo magis illos extimularem* (Allen & Allen 1928, p. 169 [= *epistula* 1876]). This letter reflects Erasmus' own attitude toward the new languages: he himself did not have the ambition to master Greek, let alone Hebrew, to perfection – he considered this a task for the new generations (cf. Weinberg 2019, p. 131-132).

In short, Erasmus' significance was substantial, but he certainly did not have a hand in every trilingual institution that saw the light of day (cf. Rundle 2019, p. 126-127).

2.2. Connections and Confessionalization

The early sixteenth-century enthusiasm for trilingual learning raises the question of whether there was any connection between the early modern establishment of language chairs and the late medieval interest in these languages. Some humanists were aware of the resolutions of the early fourteenth-century Council of Vienne, which advocated the establishment of chairs of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac at four leading universities: Salamanca, Bologna, Oxford, and Paris (see the Introduction to this volume). None of these chairs really materialized, but 200 years later the Council still served as an anchor point for the institutionalization of chairs in Hebrew and Greek (Bejczy 2001, p. 131; Rundle 2019, p. 114-115), even though Walter Rüegg (1992, p. 117) writes that humanists tended to mention the Council's stipulations only sporadically. He attributes this to the Council's different priorities and the thoroughly changed contexts the humanists inhabited. As early as 1501, Erasmus alluded to the Council, and in a later letter he concluded that Greek had been removed from the decisions at a later stage – on the somewhat unclear position of Greek in the context of the Council further research is desirable (see Sider 2019, p. 20). In his controversial 1518 *De variarum linguarum cognitione paranda oratio*, Peter Mosellanus (1493-1524), whether consciously or not, gives the impression that the decree of Vienne aligned with his call for a thorough knowledge of the biblical languages (François 2003, p. 479).

Trilingualism, Fleisher (1973, p. 77) states, 'was not even primarily a product of philological or classical ardor. If love of classics, why Hebrew? If love of language and letters, why not Chinese, Sanskrit, etc.?' He sees 'evidence that it was inspired by a movement of religious reform, strongly evangelical in spirit and humanist in sympathy'. But the interrelationship between the trilingual movement and religious reform is particularly complex. The Leuven Collegium Trilingue was founded in the same year in which Luther is said to have nailed his 95 theses

to the Wittenberg church door. As we have seen, many other chairs of Hebrew and Greek were established during precisely the same period. This synchrony of affairs certainly suggests a correlation between both movements, but it is much more difficult to identify clear causal patterns. Once the Reformation was properly underway, the scholarly community entered a remarkably confusing period. Chadwick (2001, p. 37-39) aptly highlights how scholars tended to be cautious and hesitant to voice their own positions, while the public in general was less reluctant to take a stand, even if based on far less information. Needless to say, there was a connection between the humanist lure of the *ad fontes* approach, on the one hand, and the *sola scriptura* principle as espoused by Luther's supporters, on the other. Until the early 1520s, 'exegetical optimism' dominated, Allister McGrath (2012, p. 108) explains, in that Reformers were convinced that Scripture could be understood by everyone,

> but by the 1530s, it was considered that ordinary Christians could be relied upon to understand Scripture only if they were fluent in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin and were familiar with the complexities of linguistic theories.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) very convincingly bridged humanism and the Reformation (Rüegg 1992, p. 116-117), but the views of Erasmus and Luther on the role of biblical philology ran far apart (Barral-Baron 2017), while there was much more agreement between Erasmus and Zwingli in this respect. That some of the key players in this religious debate at times radically changed their minds is another complicating factor. Luther, for instance, eventually became very skeptical about the study of Hebrew (Burnett 2004, p. 192-193).

According to some researchers, however, historians have placed too much emphasis on the constitutive contribution of Protestant northern European areas, to the detriment of the Catholic south, where traditions in language-based biblical philology also flourished (Berns 2015). It is in this context also crucial to recall that active attempts to reorganize the Church and to concentrate on scripture are much older than 1517. Such a spirit of reform, which had its roots in the fifteenth century, can be associated with the figure and trilingual initiative of Cisneros (Rummel 1999, p. 18).

It would not take long for more religious clarity to emerge, especially through processes of confessionalization. Confessionalism has been defined 'as the exclusive focusing on one's own confession and its differentiation from other doctrinal formulations' (Rummel 2000, p. 3). Confessionalization, then, as the path to confessionalism, consisted in the search for distinctive characteristics and practices, which allowed one denomination to be clearly distinguished from another – to some extent, this evokes the idea of using different colors on a geographical map in order to distinguish regions and countries. It would be interesting to investigate the extent to which the confessionalization model can be applied to the study of Greek and Hebrew in Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed regions. It seems, however, safe to state, in response to Fleisher (1973), that there were varieties of trilingualism: some institutes focused first and foremost on ancient, others on religious texts (see also Keen in this volume).

What the above sketch also makes clear is the intense mobility that both professors and students displayed. Professors, due to religious turmoil, dissatisfaction with their renumeration or their longing for a richer intellectual environment, or problematic sanitary conditions, moved from one university to another, sometimes after spending only a few months in one place (Kessler-Mesguich 2013, p. 38). In the early years, Leuven sometimes seems to have functioned as a springboard to Wittenberg, both for teachers and students. Early in February 1518 – the first lessons at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue had just started – Erasmus mentioned in a letter that there was already a Professor of Hebrew in Leuven, the most learned of the time, who also taught Greek. Hence, everyone aspiring to become a *vir trilinguis* should hurry to Leuven.[4] In other letters, too, Erasmus did not hide his enthusiasm for the converted Jew Matthaeus Adriani (Adrianus; 1475-1521) (Weinberg 2019, p. 129). But Adrianus had hardly begun his task as official chairholder when, under unclear circumstances, he took refuge in Wittenberg, where he was successfully appointed for a time, before disappearing from the radar there, too (Geudens 2017). A few months earlier,

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[4] *Iam adest Lovanii litterarum Hebraicarum professor longe doctissimus huius aevi; est qui et Graece profiteatur. Huc igitur advolent qui trilingues esse volunt* (Allen & Allen 1913, p. 220 [= *epistula* 777]).

one of the private teachers of Hebrew in Leuven whose efforts predated the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue, Johannes Cellarius (1496-1542), had negotiated for obtaining a position at this university, before finally being appointed at the University of Leipzig, and, in a later stage, Frankfurt an der Oder (Guenther 1985a). Both Hans Tausen (1494-1561), the first Professor of Hebrew at the University of Copenhagen (1537-1538), and the aforementioned Abraham Culvensis Gynvilonis had taken classes in Leuven and, subsequently, in Wittenberg. In 1533, Jan van den Campen (Johannes Campensis; 1490-1538) was teaching Hebrew at the University of Cracow, having served more than ten years at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue (Tyloch 1985, p. 131). We also notice a particularly intensive mobility of professors in both languages between universities within the Holy Roman Empire. These constant switches may have been of little benefit to the continuity of language teaching at the individual universities (cf. Meuthen 1988, p. 207), but since the paths of many itinerant scholars often crossed, this intense mobility might have contributed to a fruitful exchange of ideas and, maybe, to more convergent views on trilingual teaching.

Especially from a present-day perspective, the close connection between Hebrew and Greek is remarkable. In the institutionalization process at the various universities, we find that chairs are established for both languages simultaneously or nearly so. On an individual level, too, the above sketch has shown that several professors combined the teaching of Greek and Hebrew (and the respective renumerations), often for shorter periods. Besides Winmann and Adrianus, we can also mention Johann Lonitzer (Johannes Lonicerus; 1497-1569) in Marburg (Guenther 1985b), Johann Reuchlin in Ingolstadt, and Robert Wakefield (d. 1537) in Tübingen (Lloyd-Jones 1989, p. 5), among many others. Today, it is much less obvious that Greek and Hebrew are so easily paired. It is therefore somehow symptomatic that even in present-day volumes on trilingualism, the three languages are usually treated separately from each other, with each language assigned to different specialists. This is, however, not to say that in the early modern period the three languages were completely on the same footing. 'Implicit in the story, but perhaps never made sufficiently clear', Weinberg (2019, p. 129) observes,

is that an inequality affected the linguistic threesome. Whereas Latin and Greek usually referred to a somewhat wide curriculum of classical literature, Hebrew for the most part meant the Hebrew Bible.

Indeed, this imbalance is a striking feature of sixteenth-century trilingualism: in terms of the scope of sources read, the share of Hebrew works generally remained limited, while at the other end Latin functioned not only as an object language but also as an instructional language, and thus both as a 'metalanguage' and an 'epilanguage' (cf. Glei 2014). Often, the Latin chair was given alternative, more specific names, such as eloquence and history (see, e.g., Jensma 1985, p. 400), which highlights the ubiquity of Latin in the early modern educational system.

3. *Outlook: Beyond the Institutes*

This contribution has focused on some institutional aspects underlying trilingual education. At the same time, we must be careful not to overemphasize a one-sidedly institutional perspective (for a similar observation, see Rundle 2019): the establishment of a chair in Greek or Hebrew did not necessarily mean that there was also an active chairholder, and conversely, the above survey has made very clear that classes in Greek and Hebrew could also be taught without official chairs, and that both languages were very often offered before the first chairs were established. So, for example, future research might examine the concrete changes in the classroom brought about by the establishment of a chair. In this respect, we can briefly recall the fate of Hugo Babel (Hughes Babet; 1474-1556), who is reported to have offered classes in both Hebrew and Greek at the University of Dole in *c.* 1520. Yet a distich figuring under a portrait of Babel makes no mention of this university, instead presenting Babel as a professor at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue. Another reference is found in an epitaph, encompassing a succinct biography of Babel, with an explicit reference to his Greek teaching activities at the Leuven college (Boissard 1589, p. 275; 1597, p. 274-280). Puzzlingly, Babel's name is never mentioned in the official historiography of the Leuven trilingual college, until François Secret (1911-2003), a French kabbalah specialist, brought his contribution

back into the limelight (Secret 1967, p. 70-71). Judging by the information offered by Jean-Jacques Boissard (*c.* 1528-1602), a controversial Protestant scholar and Babel's nephew, his uncle was a prominent scholar: perfectly versed in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, he was friends with Petrus Nannius, Adrien Amerot, and Gemma Frisius. His entire library, including his own writings on theological, grammatical, and poetical subjects, is said to have been destroyed, which may have contributed to his oblivion. What this remarkable case shows is that we should not rely too blindly on the lists of chairholders drawn up by historians, and that the educational practice might have been much more – or much less – intense than such lists make it seem.

Merely compiling a list of first chairs is insufficient to create a heatmap of Greek and Hebrew teaching in early modern Europe. An adequate assessment must consider many additional parameters – insofar as they can be reconstructed. Such factors include the level, or levels, on which Greek and Hebrew were taught, i.e. propaedeutic or specialist; the numbers of students; whether the lectures were openly accessible; the texts read: pagan texts, religious texts, or both; as well as the ways in which these texts were read. To give only one example, the classes Hebrew and Greek offered in Königsberg were said to be demanding, while entirely being in the service of reading Biblical texts (Arnoldt 1746, p. 332-333 [Beylagen]). In this regard, the ready availability of learning tools was an essential element (cf. Frankowicz 2016, p. 209), just as – more generally – the presence of a vibrant printing culture. Furthermore, gaps in teaching activity should be considered, while the presence of extracurricular or private learning activities is another important parameter. For instance, the university board of Franeker made sure that the Greek and Hebrew chairs were always occupied, which was certainly not always the case elsewhere (cf. Jensma 1985, p. 400). The reputation and authority of the appointed professors played a major role, too. Studying the Leuven Collegium Trilingue from this perspective may explain why a number of students felt more attracted to the charismatic Melanchthon than to the much less visionary Rutger Rescius. Of course, once confessional lines and borders became more pronounced, these developments also had a profound effect on the college choice of students.

Perhaps one of the greatest assets of the Leuven Collegium Trilingue, besides its relative continuity in the early years and the large numbers of interested students, was its very name. Of all the trilingual initiatives described above, this is, to the best of my knowledge, the only long-running college that was explicitly styled as a collegium trilingue (in addition to other designations, most notably *Collegium Buslidianum*, named after its instigator) by contemporary scholars, and not only from a retrospective point of view. This explicit focus on, and anchored status of, the three languages may have ensured that attention to Latin was not underplayed. Even though it was already ubiquitous in early modern educational contexts, Latin could be taught from an entirely novel humanist perspective (Biersack 2019, p. 30-32). This attention paid to Latin was absent from a number of other trilingual initiatives, and the potentially vulnerable position of Latin can be illustrated through a letter sent by Erasmus in 1530. When the chairs for Hebrew and Greek were finally institutionalized in Paris, it became clear that the board wanted to focus heavily on Greek and Hebrew by appointing two professors for each language. Out of fear that this new Paris initiative would put his Leuven brainchild to serious competition, Erasmus proposed dropping Latin in Leuven in order to be able to invest more resources in Greek and Hebrew (Tournoy 2017, p. 73).[5]

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Abstract

This contribution focuses on the early sixteenth-century efforts to institutionalize a vital and constitutive part of New Learning, viz. the *combined study of Greek and Hebrew along with Latin*. Thus far, scholars have done little to compare attempts to institutionalize this

'trilingualism' in Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century. Concentrating on trilingual plans and undertakings – including those that failed to materialize – and their interrelationships, this paper is a starting point for further discussion. A short journey through early sixteenth-century trilingual Europe, primarily of a descriptive nature and without making a claim to be comprehensive, is followed by a number of more general observations on trilingual learning.

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FRANCISCO JIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS AND THE GREEKS AT THE COLLEGIUM AND UNIVERSITY OF SAN ILDEFONSO (1495-1517)*

Introduction

In 1495, cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros began his project to establish a new college and university at Alcalá de Henares. However, it was not until 1499 that the Collegium and University of San Ildefonso was officially established. Authorization was given for the following studies: Latin and Greek grammar courses, arts, canon law, and theology. A few years later, in 1502, Cisneros already started working on a new project: the publication of a Polyglot Bible. A group of Hebraists, Hellenists, and Latinists participated in this collaborative project, which resulted in a prestigious multivolume edition. In 1517, the last volume of the Polyglot was published at Alcalá. That same year, Cisneros passed away. This contribution focuses on the period between 1495 and 1517, analyzing the role of Greek in the Collegium and University's curricula and its teaching in its grammar school. This close analysis will allow me to assess its relation to Cisneros's other projects, to critically review Cisneros's oft-mentioned cosmopolitanism and humanism and that of the Collegium, and to reveal what Greek texts and books the Collegium and University of San Ildefonso had and used. To do so, I mainly rely on four sources and reference points: (1) the lists of books that Cisneros bought for the Collegium between 1496 and 1509, (2) the constitutions of the

university published in 1510, 1513, and 1515, (3) the 1512 inventory of the university library, and (4) Alcalá's book market at the time.

1. *Cisneros's Project*

Born in Torrelaguna in the summer of 1436, Gonzalo de Cisneros seems to have received his first teaching at the grammar school of Alcalá. Cisneros continued his studies at the University of Salamanca, where he graduated from a Bachelor of Law. After completing his studies in Salamanca and spending a short period in Torrelaguna, Cisneros moved to Rome around 1459. There, he was ordained as a priest, and received the title of consistorial attorney at the ecclesiastical courts. Years later, Cisneros returned to Spain, and, after serving in different capacities, he was appointed general vicar of Sigüenza. For reasons still unknown, Cisneros suddenly left this position and entered the Franciscan order, changing his name to Francisco and retiring first to the hermitage of Castañar and then to La Salceda. Cisneros was appointed confessor of queen Isabel in 1492 and became provincial of the Franciscan order in 1494 and in the same year reformer of the religious orders in Spain. In 1495, he was named archbishop of Toledo, the richest chair in Spain, although he would never abandon his principles of Franciscan sobriety. It was in these years that Cisneros began to conceive his two most important intellectual projects: the creation of the Collegium and University of San Ildefonso at Alcalá and the edition of a Polyglot Bible.[1]

Cisneros had had the opportunity to know about, and possibly participate in, the creation of the university of Sigüenza. Apparently, it was Cisneros who suggested the foundation of the Collegium of San Antonio de Portaceli in Sigüenza to Juan López de Medina, canon of Toledo and archdeacon of Almazán. The Collegium of San Antonio was completed in 1476, approved by cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, bishop of Seville and Sigüenza, in 1477, confirmed by pope Sixtus IV in 1483, and

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[1] For a well-documented biography of Francisco de Cisneros, see García Oro 1992a.

transformed into a university by pope Innocent VIII in 1489. The purpose of the Collegium of San Antonio was clear to López de Medina. He wished that there would be a center of studies in Sigüenza where retreat and humility would be the norm, and where, along with study, prayer and charity would also be practiced. López de Medina sought to integrate the study of theology with a type of collegial life that imitated the lifestyle that was taking root in the observant religious orders. The strategy would be that the reformed orders themselves assumed the management of these collegial communities dedicated to study and preaching, and that they served as a model for the clergy who were encouraged to live by those same ideals in the Collegium. Cisneros took the aims of the Collegium of San Antonio and its three studies – art, theology, and canon law – as a model for his project (Aguadé Nieto 2010, p. 21-22; García Oro & Portela Silva 2003, p. 180-187).[2]

An already existing Collegium in Alcalá perfectly fit with Cisneros's old aims and Franciscan spirit. King Sancho IV had granted a privilege to Gonzalo García Gudiel, archbishop of Toledo, to establish a *studium generale* in Alcalá. In 1458, this academic project was developed by the archbishop of Toledo Alfonso Carrillo and Acuña at the Franciscan convent of Santa María de Jesús, becoming the first Franciscan *studium generale* in Spain. In 1459, pope Pius II promulgated a bull to Carrillo and Acuña for annex benefits and ecclesiastical rents for the erection of three chairs at the Alcalá *studium*. The project of Carrillo and Acuña was based on three clear aims: the linking of the Franciscan convent and the three chairs, the establishing of a relationship between liberal arts and theology, and the entrenchment of the role of Latin as a common language of culture.[3] Cisneros referred to the three chairs of Carrillo and Acuña and to this first academy of Alcalá in the plea that he addressed to pope Alexander VI in December 1498 for creating a collegium in Alcalá under the patronage of the Spanish kings. Pope Alexander VI

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[2] See also Roest 2014, p. 132-135.

[3] This project was expanded in 1488 by cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza. See Aguadé Nieto 1999, p. 67 & 70-74; Gallego Rubio & Méndez Aparicio 2007, p. 20.

granted Cisneros's request in April 1499, and the chairs of Carrillo and Acuña were integrated into the Collegium of San Ildefonso by pope Alexander VI in November 1500. Alexander VI authorized Cisneros to add the old chairs created by Carrillo and Acuña. Such authorization was confirmed by queen Juana at the request of Cisneros in 1512 (Aguadé Nieto 2010, p. 41-53; Gallego Rubio & Méndez Aparicio 2007, p. 21; Aguadé Nieto 1999, p. 70-71 & 77-88).

Between 1496 and 1498, Cisneros began preparing the construction of the Collegium of San Ildefonso on the Franciscan site, where the *studium* created by Carrillo y Acuña was languidly surviving, and, in 1496, Benito del Barco, Jorge Baracaldo, and Hernán Núñez started to make different purchases of books by order of Cisneros for the University of Alcalá.[4] Between 1499 and 1501, Cisneros obtained the bulls necessary to build the Collegium of San Ildefonso, confer degrees, annex benefits, establish statutes and jurisdictions, and have the appropriate financial endowment. The founding bulls of the Collegium and University of San Ildefonso were granted between the months of March and April of 1499. In March 1499, Cisneros was authorized to establish a collegium in Alcalá and provide it with appropriate studies. That same year, the first stone of what would be the Collegium of San Ildefonso was placed. Three bulls issued in April 1499 consolidated the foundation of the college. The first authorized Cisneros to create *unum Collegium scholarium in quo Theologiae et Iuris Canonici ac Artium facultate legi possint* according to the model of the school of San Bartolomé of Salamanca, San Clemente of Bologna, and San Antonio of Sigüenza. The second bull allowed the new institution to confer all academic degrees, and the third established its privileges (Ordonnances XV-XVI).[5]

The following years Cisneros worked hard on both the constructive and the organizational level. He matured his project

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[4] Purchases 1497-1509. See also Aguadé Nieto 2002a, p. 57 & 69. Although the document has been dated 1497-1509, the first purchases recorded in this document were made in 1496.

[5] See also Aguadé Nieto 2010, p. 41-53; Gallego Rubio & Méndez Aparicio 2007, p. 18 & 21; Aguadé Nieto 1999, p. 77-88 & 132-133; González Navarro 1984, p. 26-27; Cabello Martín 2010.

and conceived the Collegium of San Ildefonso as the nucleus of a larger university complex, that of Alcalá. Following the spirit of the Third Lateran Council, this complex was intended to have a series of *Colegios de Pobres* or *Menores* in which the students could live and study before entering the Collegium of San Ildefonso or *Mayor*, on which the *Menores* would depend financially and administratively.[6] In 1508, the Collegium and University of San Ildefonso (henceforth University of Alcalá) officially opened its classrooms and appointed professors, who began teaching the new disciplines, along with the old chairs of Carrillo and Acuña.[7]

In 1510, Cisneros published the first constitutions of the University of Alcalá, in which he explained his ambitious academic project through a clear Christian symbolism. The university would host a center named San Ildefonso, or *Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso*, which would have twelve chaplains and twelve servants. There would also be twelve other colleges of *Menores*, in which twelve students, in honor of the twelve apostles, would live and study the liberal arts and theology. Six additional schools would house seventy-two students in memory of the seventy-two disciples of Christ. All of them would depend on the Collegium of San Ildefonso that, with its income, would attend to their needs (Gallego Rubio & Méndez Aparicio 2007, p. 22; García Oro 1992a, vol. 2, p. 360).

In July 1512, pope Julius II granted the University of Alcalá full jurisdictional exemption, even with respect to the archbishopric of Toledo (Gallego Rubio & Méndez Aparicio 2007, p. 21).

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[6] The denomination of 'Menores' and 'Mayor' was due to the degrees that were taught in the schools: 'Bachiller' and 'Licenciado', respectively. See Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 29.

[7] Scholars do not agree on the exact opening date of the University of Alcalá. It is well-known that the arts were being taught at the Collegium of San Ildefonso well before 1508, when a group of theology students coming from Salamanca arrived at the Collegium and several professors were appointed. Gonzalo Gil was entrusted with the chair of nominals, the Franciscan Clemente Ramírez with the chair of Scotus, Pedro Ciruelo with the chair of Aquinas, and Miguel Prado and Antonio de Morales with the Chairs of logic and philosophy. A few months earlier Pedro de Lerma had begun teaching Aristotle's *Ethics* in Latin (Bernal Gómez 1996, p. 41). See also Aguadé Nieto, 1999, p. 70-71; Gallego Méndez 2007, p. 22; Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 30; García Oro 1992b, p. 274.

In a bull of October 1512, pope Julius II referred to one of the most important reasons that impelled cardinal Cisneros to create a *Collegium scholarium* at Alcalá: the lack of a *studium generale* in the archdioceses of Toledo and in the cities and dioceses bordering on it (Aguadé Nieto 1999, p. 70-71). In 1513, Cisneros remarked that the University of Alcalá was primarily a collegial institution and its theological paradigm was the life of Jesus Christ and his apostles. The Collegium of San Ildefonso had been built as a residence for 'thirty-three students and twelve chaplains so that, in it as head, the person of Jesus Christ, our Savior, would be represented, and that in the number of the aforementioned students would be represented the fullness of his age, and in the twelve priest chaplains the number of the twelve apostles':

> *1. Cum nos favente Deo retroactis temporibus fundaverimus et doctaverimus collegium sancti Ildefonsi huius n[ost]ri oppidi de Alcala de Henares in quo decrevimus et statuimus residere et co[m]morari triginta et tres collegiales et duodecim capellanos ut in eo velut in capite representetur persona Salvatoris Domini n[ost]ri Jesu Christi. Et in numero dictorum collegialium plenitudo etatis eiusdem ac in duodecim sacerdotibus capellanis numerus duodecim apostolorum recolleret[ur].* (Constitutions 1513, fol. 50r) [8]

2. *The University of Alcalá and the Greeks*

Of the eighteen schools that Cisneros had planned in 1510, only seven materialized. In the 1513 constitutions of the *Colegios de Pobres*, Cisneros summarized the history of the first years of the university, and, since each of the seven buildings already built allowed the accommodation of more than twelve students, he arranged that all the planned schools were to be merged in the seven buildings. In the same constitutions, Cisneros also gave names

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[8] The National Historical Archive holds copies of the constitutions of the *Colegios de Pobres* with slight differences. On these copies, see González Navarro 1984, p. 38-43. See also Fernández Fernández 2017, p. 63-65; Gallego Méndez 2007, p. 22; Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 30; García Oro 1992a, vol. 2, p. 126; 1992b, p. 157 & 275; González Navarro 1993, p. 258-279. A transcription of the Latin text of the 1513 constitutions and its Spanish translation can be found in Urriza 1941, p. 405-429.

to the schools, outlined their studies, and determined that the grammar schools of San Eugenio and San Isidoro were each for thirty students of Latin and six of Greek.

The building of the grammar school of San Eugenio started in 1514 in the old Jewish neighborhood. That same year, the grammar school of San Isidoro was established in some houses that had belonged to Moriscos. In August 1515, their academic activities were regulated with new constitutions. In January 1516, the construction of the grammar school of San Eugenio was completed, and, in 1517, both schools were in full operation (García Oro 1992a, vol. 2, p. 362; 1992b, p. 185).

In 1517, the pedagogical project of Cisneros was defined as a coherent system devoted to the teaching of theology from the elementary level – the grammar schools – to the superior level – the Collegium of San Ildefonso. The students began with the study of Latin and Greek, followed by art or philosophy, and finished with theology. That is to say, to study theology, it was necessary that students had first reached the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In order to achieve this, sufficient knowledge of Latin was necessary (Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 30).

Most scholars agree that the Renaissance originated as a growing interest in (Classical) Greek thought and philosophy.[9] In light of this, many claim that Cisneros's project to create the University of Alcalá and install a Greek curriculum there was a product of his humanist interests (Fernández-Armesto 1989, p. 155, Garcia Oro 1992b, p. 351 & 412; Bernal Gómez 1996, p. 44; Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 30). However, when setting up his university project and academic program, Cisneros was clearly more inspired by theological paradigms and medieval models than he was by Italian humanism. The teaching of Latin and Greek was, first and foremost, related to the Bible and to old Christian ideals of evangelization and access to the truth rather than it was a means to read pagan authors. Greek was imbedded in the Christian tradition, Greek elements and sources had been already incorporated into this tradition in the Middle Ages, and Cisneros acted according to, and within, this tradition

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[9] On the relation between the teaching of Greek and humanism, see Grafton 1985.

and its goals. The New Testament had been written in Greek; Anselm and Abelard had used elements of Greek philosophy and Aristotelian logic;[10] in 1260, the *studium generale* of Seville had been granted a bull to teach Greek, as well as Latin and Arabic (Santiago-Otero 1996, p. 55-56);[11] Aristotelianism and the medieval model of the University of Paris was selected for the School of Arts of Alcalá, as it was deemed most suitable;[12] Cisneros professed great admiration for the medieval philosopher Ramón Llull and his ideas on teaching Greek.[13] It is within this tradition that the creation of the University of Alcalá and the teaching of Greek must be contextualized and understood. As the constitutions of 1510 clearly stated, Cisneros's program provided a privileged position for theological studies, which could only be accessed through a good understanding of grammar. This program and its goals led Cisneros to mature an important editorial project: the publishing of a Polyglot Bible.

> 55. *De cursib[us] bachalarioru[m] in theologia.*
>
> *Et quoniam theologica disciplina ceteris scientiis et artibus pro ancillis utitur. Ideo nemo admittatur ad cursandum in theologia nisi iam peregerit omnes suos cursus in facultate artium, sive fuerit graduatus magister in eis sive non, et non debet permitti q[uod] aliquis curset simul in duabus facultatibus.* (Constitutions 1510, fol. 37r)

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[10] On Aristotle in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Williams 2013.

[11] In 1311-1312 the Council of Vienne recommended the creation of chairs of Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean at Christian universities to facilitate the dialogue between different religions and different Christian confessions. On the relation between the teaching of Hebrew and the Council of Vienne, see Delgado Jara & Herrera García 2011, p. 243-245.

[12] *Quoniam cursus artium qui fieri debet more parisiensi* (Constitutions 1510, fol. 30v). For Aristotle in the program of the school of arts of the University of Alcalá, see Urriza 1941, p. 275-294 & 345-365. See also Gallego Méndez 2007, p. 20; Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 176; Aguadé Nieto 2002a, p. 66 & 74-75.

[13] Arnao Guillén de Brocar printed Ramon Llull's *Libellus de amico et amato* for Cisneros in Alcalá in 1517. See Norton 1978, p. 23-24; Martin Abad 1991, vol. 1, p. 251-252. In October 1513, Cisneros sent a letter to the juries of Mallorca in which he wrote: 'I really have a great fondness for all his [Ramón Llull's] works because they are of much doctrine and profit' (García Oro 1992b, p. 390). On the relation between the teaching of Greek and Ramon Llull, see Delgado Jara & Herrera García 2011, p. 243-245.

58. De licentia erigendi aliquas cathedras.

Tandem ut omnia que ad litterarum scientiam spectant in n[ost]ro Collegio reperiantur statuimus et ordinamus [quod] sit in eodem Collegio alia cathedra greci sermonis, quam habeat unus cathedraticus in eadem lingua sufficienter instructus. Et teneatur intra collegium legere duas lectiones in duabus horis simul cum exercitio practice durante per aliam horam singulis diebus lectivis. Habeatque pro suo salario singulis annis quinquaginta florenos. Et provideatur predicta cathedra arbitrio rectoris et consiliariorum. Et ille habeatur pro electo cui plura vota suffragentur verum quia nonnumq[uam] viri religiosi et alie persone zelo fidei et dei amore flagrantes ut melius verbum dei disseminare possint desiderare solent periciam linguarum obtinere. Ideo statuimus q[uod] quotienscumq[ue] tales personas in hac n[ost]ra Universitate residere contigerit rector et consiliarii cum maiori parte claustri per eosdem requisiti iuxta eorum prium et honestum desideriu[m] cathedras linguarum que in Concilio vienensi continentur vel cuiusvis ipsarum secundum temporis exigentiam erigere atq[ue] instituere possint et competens ip[s]arum lectoribus salarium assignare. Ita q[uod] su[m]mam quinquaginta florenorum annuatim pro qualibet cathedra non excedant. Deficientibus tame[n] auditoribus ut premissum est qualificatis, cessent etiam salaria predictarum cathedrarum, et cuiusvis ipsarum. Et quoniam lingua greca fons est et origo latine lingue et aliaru[m] scientiarum sufficiat in ea esse que[m]cumq[ue] numerum auditoru[m], qui in eadem lingua verissimiliter proficere possint. Quibus cessantibus cesset etiam salarium cathedre.
(Constitutions 1510, fol. 46v)

The publication of the Polyglot Bible was the main cause of Cisneros's interest in Greek authors and texts. Greek was basically the access gate to a paradigmatic textual corpus in Cisneros's educational and theological project: the Bible.

The conception of the Polyglot Bible, and, therefore, the use of the Greek text in it, were made clear by Cisneros in his prologue, a letter with which he presented the work to pope Leo X. The cardinal wanted to provide access to the sacred texts in their original form, the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament. He had a double goal: enriching the biblical experience of the clergy by directly accessing the Christian sources and offering an effective corrective to the prevailing diversity of text

versions current in the Christian world (García Oro 1992b, p. 411).[14] Only this twofold aim can explain that a prominent group of Hellenists gathered at the University of Alcalá around Cisneros (García Oro 1992b, p. 415-416, 418 & 420; Aguadé Nieto 2002b, p. 31; Martín Abad 2002, p. 113; Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 397).[15] Cisneros's vision was not very different from the traditional one the Salamancan theologian Alonso del Madrigal put forward in the prologue to his *Tostado sobre el Eusebio*, printed in Salamanca in 1506 and most probably funded by Cisneros (Fernández-Armesto 1989, p. 152). The objective of Cisneros was to purify the text, but without putting the Sacred Scriptures up for discussion and without revising, correcting, or questioning Jerome's Vulgate. This intention of purification is also proved by Cisneros's argument with Antonio de Nebrija, who had proposed to revise the Vulgate philologically, as well as by the central role of the Vulgate in the Polyglot Bible (Sáinz Rodríguez 1979, p. 38; Bécares Botas 1994, p. 545; Fernández-Armesto 1989, p. 156-158).[16]

3. *Learning Greek: Methods and Tools*

In 1515, the grammar school of San Isidoro was about to be completed, and, in that same year, Cisneros published a new normative text in which he regulated in detail the teaching of Latin. However, no information whatsoever was given about the meth-

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[14] For some reflections on the importance of the Sacred Scriptures in the Franciscan Order, see Andrés Martín 2009.

[15] The Greek and Latin texts of the New Testament of the Polyglot Bible of Alcalá were printed by Arnao Guillén de Brocar on January 10, 1514. It is very probable that the Greek-Latin dictionary of the New Testament was printed in that same year. The Greek version of the Old Testament was completed on July 10, 1517. For Hernán Núñez, see Nader 1978.

[16] Cisneros has been often presented as a supporter of Erasmus's strand of humanism in Spain because two of the greatest Spanish admirers of Erasmus – Juan de Cazalla and Francisco Vergara – were at Alcalá, because Cisneros supposedly invited Erasmus to move to his University, and because the Polyglot Bible and Erasmus's *Novum instrumentum* were coincidentally published around the same time. See, for example, González Navarro 1984, p. 284; Fernández-Armesto 1989, p. 156-157; Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 182. Cisneros also wanted to produce a bilingual Latin-Greek edition of Aristotle's works which seems to have never materialized (Fernández-Armesto 1989, p. 156).

ods and tools for teaching Greek (Constitutions 1515, fols 94-101).[17] The students could begin their studies of Latin grammar in any of the two grammar schools, either San Eugenio or San Isidoro. They were only allowed to start if they already knew how to read and write, and, in any case, not before they were eight years old. Each of these schools allowed thirty students of Latin and six students of Greek, although the number of students of Greek never met that figure. In each of these schools, Latin was taught at three levels, *Menores*, *Medianos* and *Mayores*, and Greek was taught in two additional non-compulsory courses (Ajo y Sáinz de Zúñiga 1957-1979, vol. 2, p. 305; López Rueda 1973, p. 17-52; González Navarro 1984, p. 157-164 & 571-579; García Oro 1992b, p. 219-221 & 224). At the end of the three years of Latin and two years of Greek, the students, already at least eleven years of age, but often thirteen or over, continued their art studies (González Navarro 1984, p. 119-125, 150 & 159-160; 1993, p. 273-275; Escandell Bonet 1990, p. 101-112; García Oro 1992b, p. 283-291; Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares 2013, p. 75).

Although Cisneros did not provide any details about the Greek courses, the constitutions of 1510 offer some details about the schedule. The Greek teacher had to provide three hours of Greek every school day: two hours of lectures and one hour of practice.[18] The constitutions of 1515 reinforced those of 1510, outlining with great precision the exercises, teaching method, and texts that Latin teachers should use in their different courses. Curiously, nothing was said about the Greek courses, despite Demetrius Ducas having arrived at the University of Alcalá two years earlier, in 1513. It is easy to infer that, given that Greek was taught in two courses, there were two different levels of learning: beginner and advanced, but, regarding the teaching methods, one can only imaginatively reconstruct it and make some speculations.

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[17] A copy of the original document from 1515 is included in the so-called 'Fragment of the Reformation that Juan de Obando wrote in 1565'. See also García Oro 1992b, p. 185-186; Bernal Gómez 1996, p. 41; Gallego Méndez 2007, p. 22.

[18] '[...] et teneatur intra collegium legere duas lectiones in duabus horis simul cum exercitio practice durante per aliam horam singulis diebus lectivis' (Constitutions 1510, fol. 46v).

It is well known that traditional Greek courses, the pattern of which can be traced back to the teaching of Greek by Byzantine teachers in northern Italy, mainly consisted of reading Ancient Greek texts. For example, at the start of a new course in the Collegium Trilingue in Leuven, Greek teachers determined which authors they wished to read. Before starting the reading of a Greek text, the teacher introduced its author's life and works, as well as to the text's style and content. After reading the Greek text, the teacher usually offered a Latin translation and paraphrase in which he explained and interpreted it. They never systematically referred to any grammatical textbooks or other tools or published any of them (Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 138-139 & 142-146).[19] It seems safe to say that this was not the pattern followed at Alcalá, where grammars were probably an important teaching tool.

More information and clues seep through in the following years. Juan Luis Vives, in his *De ratione studii* (1523) and *De tradendis disciplinis* (1531), suggested to use the grammar of Gaza, translated into Latin by Erasmus, to teach declensions, conjugations, prosody and orthography (López Rueda 1973, p. 235-236). In 1526, the students of Greek in Alcalá declared that the Greek teacher, Francisco de Vergara, read too quickly *el libro de costrucción para los principiantes* ('the book of syntax for beginners') and did not do enough conversation exercises (García Oro & Portela Silva 2006, p. 661). In 1527, Vergara read a grammar in the afternoons to his students, and, in 1537, he published a Greek grammar, *De Graecae linguae grammatica* (1537), where he followed the model of Antonio de Nebrija's Latin grammar and where he stated that the reading of Greek authors should be paralleled with the study of his grammar (López Rueda 1973, p. 237-243 & 256).[20] It seems plausible, therefore, that the teaching method would basically follow the structure of the method used for the teaching of Latin. In the first two hours of Greek lectures, the teacher probably taught all the basic principles of

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[19] For the double structure of the teaching of Greek in the Byzantine tradition see Ciccolella 2008, p. 110-118. For the teaching of Greek in Spain after 1517, see López Rueda 1973, p. 233-243.

[20] On the importance of grammars as part of Greek and Latin curricula see also Botley 2010, p. 2.

Greek grammar, while presenting at the third hour, through the reading of some Greek texts, examples of the use of the language, by explaining words and by asking the students questions. The teaching method of Greek was possibly not very different from the one that Cisneros indicated for the teaching of Latin in the constitutions of 1515 for the three levels:

> *[El profesor de Menores] leerá y practicará todos los principios del arte de gramática [...] con el género y declinaciones regulares y pretéritos y supinos, con las especies de los cinco géneros de verbos y cada una conjugacion simple [...] y por ella leerá alguna cosa libiana de sentencias [...] o dichos notables de filosofos [...] o cosas semejantes porque [los estudiantes], allende que aprovecharán para la construcción, se les quedarán las sentencias en la memoria. Y demandarles de cada palabra que parte de la oración sea y de sus accidentes livianamente [...]. [El profesor de Medianos] les hara una conjugación cada día [...] y dara por ella [...] los modos, tiempos y participios y comparativos. Tambien leerá [...] demandando de cada palabra más rigurosamente todos los accidentes de ella, especialmente la derivación y composición [...]. [El profesor de Mayores] leerá la metrificación y las figuras.*

> [The teacher of *Menores*] will read and practice all principles of the art of grammar [...] with gender, and regular declensions, and past tense forms and supines, with the species of the five types of verbs and each simple conjugation [...] and through it he will read some light sentences [...] or notable things of philosophers [...] or similar things because, in addition to the fact that it will benefit their syntax, the sentences will be committed to memory. And [the teacher will] gently ask them about every word what part of speech it is and about its accidents [...]. [The professor of *Medianos*] will practice a conjugation every day and [...] will give for it [...] the moods, tenses, and participles and comparatives. He will also lecture [...] while asking for each word more rigorously all its accidents, specifically the derivation and composition [...]. [The teacher of *Mayores*] will lecture on versification and figures. (Constitutions 1515, fol. 95r-v)

In the constitutions of 1515, Cisneros also gave clear indications about the grammars and the texts that were to be employed in Latin classes, namely the grammars of Antonio de Nebrija, Quintilian, Diomedes, and Donatus, and works of Christian and

classical authors (Constitutions 1515, fol. 95r-v), but the constitutions do not mention Greek manuals. However, the records of book purchases made by Cisneros between 1496 and 1509 for the Collegium of San Ildefonso, the 1512 inventory of the library of the University of Alcalá, and the books printed in Alcalá by Arnao Guillén de Brocar in subsequent years shed light on the works used for teaching Greek.[21]

Between 1496 and 1509, Benito del Barco, Jorge Baracaldo, and Hernán Núñez made multiple purchases of books by order of Cisneros for the University of Alcalá, and, in 1512, an inventory of the university library was made (Purchases 1496-1509).[22] Although the extant records of these purchases are fragmentary and the information they provide is therefore incomplete, the dates that appear in the document can be easily related to the inventory of the library made in 1512, and both of them to the university curricula, the Polyglot Bible, and the teaching of Greek. In 1495, the first payments for the acquisition of the buildings in which the Collegium of San Ildefonso was to be built were made. In 1508, the first students of the University of Alcalá arrived from Salamanca, and the first rector was appointed. A year later, many new professors were appointed, and Cisneros referred to the institution's library. The constitutions of 1510 legislated about the library. In 1512, an inventory of the books of the library of the University of Alcalá was drawn up.[23]

The purchase records and the library inventory indicate that only two Greek grammars were used at the University of Alcalá: Constantinus Lascaris's *Erotemata* and Urbanus Bolzanius's *Institutiones Graecae grammaticae*.[24] In 1503, Benito del

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[21] Arnao Guillén de Brocar established his printing shop in Alcalá at the request of Cisneros for printing the Polyglot Bible. On Brocar in Alcalá, see Martín Abad 1991, vol. 1, p. 55-75.

[22] A transcription and study of these purchases can be found in Ruiz García & Carvajal González 2011. See also Aguadé Nieto 2002a, p. 57 & 69.

[23] In 1512, Fernando de la Fuente, general vicar of the town of Alcalá, declared that, 'having visited the library of the aforementioned school [of San Ildefonso] and [inspected] all the books of it, I found everything to be complete according to the inventory' (García Oro, 1996, p. 89). See also Aguadé Nieto, 2002a, p. 58-59 & 71-72; 2002b, p. 5; González Navarro 1984, p. 222-229; Gallego Méndez 2007, p. 19.

[24] Antonio de Nebrija's *Introductiones in latinam grammaticen*, a text book

Barco bought for the Collegium of San Ildefonso a copy of the Ἐρωτήματα at Medina del Campo's town fair (Purchases 1496-1509, fol. 22v).[25] This copy was probably still at the university library in 1512 since it is listed in the inventory as 'ars greca constantini' (Inventory 1512, fol. 34r).[26] In the same document, there is also an 'ars greca urbani', undoubtedly the *Institutiones Graecae grammaticae* of the Franciscan disciple of Lascaris, Urbanus Bolzanius (Inventory 1512, fol. 34r).[27] The fact that the constitutions of 1515 do not make reference to any specific grammar suggests that Greek teachers could choose the textbook of their preference. The Greek grammar of Bolzanius, which was written in Latin, was probably used in the first year of Greek because of the difficulty that the learning of Greek entailed and the mastery that Greek students already had of Latin, having already completed the obligatory three years of Latin grammar. The Greek grammar of Lascaris was possibly paralleled to Bolzanius's or used by some teachers only during the second year or with the more advanced students. Although the grammar of Lascaris also offered the basics for the acquisition of Greek and the copy bought in 1503 was probably an edition with the Latin translation of Giovanni Crastoni, it was a difficult textbook for beginners, which probably led to the acquisition and use of Bolzanius's.[28]

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used in Alcalá for teaching Latin, also has a chapter with the Greek alphabet, its pronunciation and declensions. See López Rueda 1973, p. 151-152.

[25] In the purchase records, Lascaris's grammar is listed as *gramática tincabani [sic] en griego*, but I think that 'tincabani' is a transcription error. The *ars greca constantini* listed in 1512 suggests that the grammar listed in the purchase record was a gramática 'constantini' and not 'tincabani'. García Ruiz & Carvajal González think that 'tincabani' is a transcription error for 'Urbani', and, therefore, they identify the *gramática tincabini* with Urbanus Bolzanius's *Institutiones Graecae grammaticae* (García Ruiz & Carvajal González 2011, p. 441).

[26] For a transcription and study of the inventory, see Fernández Fernández 2001, p. 611-655.

[27] García Ruiz & Carvajal González think that this was a copy of the edition printed by Aldus Manutius in 1497 (García Ruiz & Carvajal González 2011, p. 441).

[28] On Lascaris's grammar and its popularity see Botley 2010, p. 26-38. It is significant that the grammars of Manuel Chrysoloras and Theodorus Gaza were not used at the University of Alcalá at that time. For the differences between the grammars of Chrysoloras, Gaza, and Lascaris, see Ciccolella 2008, p. 122-124.

The texts used for practice before 1512 are not as easy to identify as the grammars. The purpose of purchase of the few books in Greek at the library of the University of Alcalá is not evident since the teaching of Greek, the editing of the Polyglot Bible, and the Latin readings of Greek authors for the school of arts are not always easily distinguishable (Aguadé Nieto 2010, p. 60-67). In addition, the brief descriptions in the purchasing records and the library inventory makes their identification very difficult. Only two books bought by Benito del Barco in 1503 were undoubtedly used to exercise in Greek. In 1503, del Barco bought 'Greek proverbs' and an *Eliade Omeri* in Greek at Medina del Campo's town fair, along with the grammar of Lascaris and some Latin books (Purchases 1496-1509, fol. 23r).[29] The book of Greek proverbs no doubt paralleled the 'light sentences' that Cisneros proposed for the Latin students of the first year in the constitutions of 1515.[30] Homer's *Iliad*, most likely a copy of the edition printed in Florence around 1488, was, in turn, a possible advanced reading, following the custom of considering Homer's work as a model of poetry in Greek grammar schools (Botley 2010, p. 81-84).[31]

In addition to the proverbs and Homer, there were several other books that were probably used for the teaching of Greek. Three of these texts deserve special attention, namely Psalms, lives of the saints, and Scripture, as they were often used in grammar school teaching (Ciccolella 2008, p. 107; Botley 2010,

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[29] See also Aguadé Nieto 2002a, p. 74.

[30] It is very difficult to determine what the book of Greek proverbs was. It might have been Aesop's Fables, a collection of Christian maxims or the *Epitome proverbiorum Tarrhaei et Didymi* (published in Florence in 1497). Juan Luis Vives and Francisco de Vergara recommended reading Aesop's Fables because of its content and easy vocabulary (López Rueda 1973, p. 235 & 238). For a bibliographic description of the *Epitome*, see ISTC iz00024000; GW M52087.

[31] For a selective overview of Greek texts used in Renaissance schools, see Botley 2010, Chapter 3. Some years later, Juan Luis Vives suggested that teachers should comment on some parts of Homer and that students should memorize some passages (López Rueda 1973, p. 236). The 'Eliade Omeri' was probably the copy of the Florentine *editio princeps* today kept at the Historical Library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Homerus, *Opera*, Florence: for Bernardus and Nerius Nerlius and Demetrius Damilas, [1488-1489]. Edited by Demetrius Chalcocondyles. Call number BH INC I-282. This copy has the ex-libris of the Collegium of San Ildefonso. For a bibliographic description, see ISTC ih00300000; GW 12895.

p. 75-76). In January 1504, the university bought a 'psalter in Greek' from the bookseller Juan Martín that was still in the library in 1512, most probably a copy of the edition printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius around 1497 (Purchases 1497-1509, fol. 19r; Inventory 1512, fol. 34r).[32] In 1508, Jorge Baracaldo bought some Epistles of Saint Paul in the original Greek (Purchases 1497-1509, fol. 25r). Additionally, in 1512, the library held a Greek hagiographical work (Inventory 1512, fol. 39r).[33]

Demetrius Ducas arrived at the University of Alcalá in 1513 from Venice to work on the Polyglot Bible and take over the teaching of Greek at the grammar school.[34] We cannot say anything about Ducas' teaching methods in Alcalá nor what his experiences in the classrooms of the University of Alcalá were, but neither the grammar of Bolzanius and Lascaris nor the Greek texts available in the library seem to have corresponded to his didactic needs. Ducas published in Alcalá in 1514 at the workshop of Arnao Guillén de Brocar, who had been commissioned by Cisneros to print the Polyglot Bible, two works destined for classroom usage: Manuel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* and Musaeus's *Opusculum de Herone et Leandro*. Ducas's edition of Chrysoloras's grammar was based on the edition that Manutius had printed in 1512, and the Musaeus text on the 1495 Aldine edition. Ducas had probably taken a copy of both works to Alcalá.[35]

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[32] A *Psalterium graecum*, Venice: Aldus Manutius, [*c.* 1497] with the ex-libris of the Collegium of San Ildefonso is kept at the Historical Library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (call number BH INC I-281). For a bibliographic description, see ISTC ip01033000; GW M36248.

[33] In a 1523 inventory of the university library this work is still present (Fernández Fernández 2001, p. 130 & 623).

[34] Ducas worked with Diego López de Zúñiga and Hernán Núñez de Guzmán on the edition of the Septuagint text and the Greek New Testament. On Demetrius Ducas, see López Rueda 1973, p. 19-22. Although it seems that Cisneros began selecting some scholars as collaborators for the Polyglot Bible project already in 1502, there are no reliable records on the scholars involved before 1513. See García Oro 1992b, p. 274, 285-286; Bernal Gómez 1996, p. 41; Gutiérrez Zuloaga 1996, p. 68, 80-83; Cabañas González 1999, vol. 1, p. 30; Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 386. Gutiérrez Zuloaga has claimed that Pablo Coronel taught Greek at the University of Alcalá before the arrival of Ducas in 1513 (Gutiérrez Zuloaga 1996, p. 73).

[35] Manuel Chrysoloras, Ἐρωτήματα, [Venice: Aldus Manutius], 1512; Musaeus, *Opusculum de Herone et Leandro*, Venice: Aldus Manutius, [1495-1497]. For

The 1512 Aldine edition of Chrysoloras's grammar was printed in Greek and supplemented by some anonymous works and extracts of Theodorus Gaza's and Demetrius Chalcocondyles's grammatical works.[36] Ducas's edition took over all components from Manutius, but he made an important change as well. He included a Latin translation of the work, thus integrating into a single work the advantages of the Aldine edition and the previous translations of Chrysoloras's work.[37] The Musaeus edition was printed around the same time as Chrysoloras's grammar (Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 396).[38] These two editions benefitted the students of Greek in Alcalá by providing better introductory tools. The editions also benefitted their teacher Ducas, who probably felt more comfortable using manuals of his own making. Ducas was able to remedy the lack of Greek manuals with which he was confronted upon his arrival in Alcalá. Ducas left Alcalá in 1518 after finishing the Polyglot Bible. The low salary assigned to the professor of Greek and the precariousness of Greek studies in Alcalá were probably factors that influenced his decision to leave.

The precariousness of Greek texts would not change in the following years, and the professors of Greek who came after Ducas also published their own manuals, while complaining about the scarcity of Greek texts. In 1519, Hernán Núñez, Ducas's successor, published Demetrius Moschus's *Circa Helenam et Alexandrum* and the treatise *De moribus institutiones ad nepotes* of Saint Basil with interlinear Latin translation (Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 399).[39] Hernán Núñez, too, complained about

a bibliographical description of these Aldine editions, see ISTC im00880000; GW M25737; Edit16 CNCE 12129; Botley 2010, p. 128.

[36] Manuel Chrysoloras, Ἐρωτήματα, Alcalá: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1514. See Botley 2010, p. 11, 35. For a bibliographic description of Ducas's grammar, see Norton 1978, p. 16; Martín Abad 1991, p. 234-236; Botley 2010, p. 132-133.

[37] Ducas's edition also included the Greek paternoster and some other prayers on its first pages as was customary in editions of Chrysoloras's grammar. These prayers were probably recited and memorized by the students (Botley 2010, p. 11, 35 & 75).

[38] See also García Oro 1992b, p. 416. For a bibliographic description of Ducas's editions, see Norton 1978, p. 16; Martín Abad 2001, p. 55.

[39] For a bibliographic description of Hernán Núñez's editions, see Norton 1978, p. 31-32; Martín Abad 1991, p. 268 & 270.

the scarcity of Greek texts in Castile, and stated that he had to supply both texts himself, which he not merely published but improved by adding a Latin translation on the same page (Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 399).[40]

In the frame of the Polyglot Bible project, Cisneros had gathered a notable circle of Hellenists together with a printer, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, who owned new Greek typefaces. And yet, despite the scarcity, Cisneros was not interested in editing Greek didactic manuals (Martín Abad 2002, p. 115). For example, in 1514, Ducas edited and printed at his own expense Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* and Musaeus's *Opusculum de Herone et Leandro* in Brocar's workshop without Cisneros's support. Although the title page of these works bears Cisneros's shield, it was Ducas who covered the printing costs (Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 396 & 399). For Cisneros, his interest in Greek did not go beyond the Bible and Aristotle. Ducas had to pay for his Greek manuals for a handful of students, while Cisneros promoted, financed, and published a series of works of a very different nature but totally consistent with his religious project. Cisneros realized the editions of the Toledan liturgy, had the Polyglot Bible printed, supported the editing of the works of the Salamanca theologian Alonso de Madrigal and Nicholas of Lyra, promoted the publication of Franciscan mystical and devotional texts, and financed the edition of the Rules of the Orders of Saint Francis and Saint Clare (Fernández-Armesto 1989, p. 151 & 158-159).

The purpose of other Greek books bought for Cisneros or at the university library is not always as evident as the ones just mentioned. The editorial projects of the Polyglot Bible not only explain the presence of Hellenists in Alcalá, but also several of Cisneros's purchases (and the library's holding) of grammars, vocabularies, and Greek and Hebrew texts (Aguadé Nieto

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[40] Hernán Núñez also lent Greek manuscript texts of his personal library to his students to remedy the scarcity of Greek texts (Signes Codoñer 2008, p. 135-156). In 1524, Francisco Vergara, Núñez's successor, published an *Anthologia Graeca* in Greek in Alcalá. In 1526, the students declared to the visitation committee that *ay necesidad e falta de artes e que el regente [Francisco Vergara] sy el Colegio le ayuda las hara enprimir e sera mucho provecho* (García Oro & Portela Silva 2006, p. 670 & 705; Aguadé Nieto 2002b, p. 27 & 32). See also González Navarro 1984, p. 157-164 & 571-579; Gutiérrez Zuloaga 1996, p. 73.

2002a, p. 75-76; García Oro 1992, p. 360 & 365). For example, in December 1503, Jorge Baracaldo bought by order of Cisneros 'a book that is entitled *cornucopia* in Greek' – most likely the work *Thesaurus cornu copiae et horti Adonidis* printed in Venice in 1496 – and, in July 1508, the gospels, the Epistles of Saint Paul and a vocabulary, all in Greek (Purchases 1497-1509, fols 18v & 25r).[41] In 1512, the library held two Greek volumes of John Chrysostom's exegetical works, a Greek psalter, a bilingual psalter in Greek and Hebrew, the Book of Revelations and the Gospel of Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Saint Paul (Inventory 1512, fols 34r, 36r).[42] In 1512, the library also held several vocabularies very useful for the study of Greek but also invaluable for editing the Greek Bible text: a *Suidas greçe*, the *Lexicon Graecum* of Suidas edited by Demetrius Chalcondyles and printed in Milan in 1499;[43] a *vocabularium grecum*, maybe the *Lexicon Latino-Graecum* of Johannes Crastonus; a *vocabularium grecum Cirili*, probably the edition of Crastonus's vocabulary with an opusculum by Pseudo-Cyrillus printed in Venice in 1497;[44] and a *ethimologeus magnus greçe*, probably the *Etymolo-*

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[41] Θησαυρός. Κέρας ἀμαλθείας, καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος. *Thesaurus cornu copiae et horti Adonidis*, Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1496. For a bibliographic description, see ISTC it00158000; GW 07571; Botley 2010, p. 122. A copy of this edition with the ex-libris of the Collegium of San Ildefonso is kept at the Historical Library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (call number INC I-289). See also García Oro 1992, p. 366; Aguadé Nieto 2002a, p. 123. The *Thesaurus* is also mentioned in the inventory of 1512 (Inventory 1512, fol. 54v). An 'evangelia greçe' is also mentioned in 1512 (Inventory 1512, fol. 34r).

[42] *Chrisostumus super matheum greçe*; *Chrisostumus in genesim grece*; *Psalterium grecum et hebraycum*; *Apocalipsis et evangelium mathei greçe*. The Greek psalter had been bought in January 1504 (Purchases 1497-1509, fols 18v-19r). See also Fernández Fernández 2001, p. 614 & 617; Aguadé Nieto 2002a, p. 69; Ruiz García & Carvajal González 2011, p. 310-311, 508 & 511.

[43] Suidas, *Lexicon Graecum*, Milan: Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius for Demetrius Chalcondyles, 15 November 1499. Edited by Demetrius Chalcondylas (ISTC is00829000; GW M44268). A copy of this edition with the ex-libris of the Collegium of San Ildefonso is kept at the Historical Library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (call number BH INC I-283). See also Fernández Fernández 2001, p. 614. A Greek vocabulary had been bought by Jorge Baracaldo in Valladolid in July 1508 (Purchases 1496-1509, fol. 25r). See also Ruiz García & Carvajal González 2011, p. 511. For Suidas, see Botley 2010, p. 55-56.

[44] Johannes Crastonus, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1497. For a bibliographic description, see ISTC ic00960000; GW 07814; Botley 2010, p. 155-156.

gicum magnum printed in Venice by Zacharias Callierges in 1499 (Inventory 1512, fol. 34r).[45]

Epilogue

Cisneros's theological project and the monastic-clerical spirit that pervaded life at the University of Alcalá from its origins explain the role of Greek. Greek was taught in Alcalá, but there were few students and manuals. When Cisneros bought, between 1496 and 1509, almost 800 works for his university, most of them dealt with religion and canon law, and only very few with Greek.[46] In addition to establishing the University of Alcalá, Cisneros, as head of the most powerful Spanish archbishopric and the University of Alcalá, was engaged in three large-scale editorial projects: the Polyglot Bible, Toledo liturgical rites, and, allegedly, the works of Aristotle. The prominence of Greek in Alcalá should be seen against the backdrop of the first of these projects and its goals. Cisneros had a clear academic and religious project in mind, and all his publications and projects were aimed at realizing this (Fernández-Armesto 1989, p. 153). Most of the studies carried out at the newly created University of Alcalá were at the service of theology. Their main objective was to educate those who aspired to priesthood, largely based on the path of the Franciscanism of their predecessors. Latin and Greek were useful not because of Cisneros's interest in classical antiquity, but because these languages were the necessary instruments to approach the Christian truth (Domingo Malvadi 2014, p. 395). Cardinal Cisneros died in 1517, when the Polyglot Bible had just been completed. Eleven years later, in 1528, the University of Alcalá created the Trilingual School under the dedication of Saint Jerome. This school became, for many historians, the para-

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[45] This copy is also mentioned in the inventory of the library of 1523 (Fernández Fernández 2001, p. 126 & 128). Ἐτυμολογικὸν μέγα κατὰ ἀλφάβητον, Venice: Zacharias Callierges for Nicolaus Blastus and Anna Notaras, 1499. Edited by Marcus Musurus. On this edition and its distribution by Manutius, see Botley 2010, p. 58-59. Nuñez de Guzmán bought a copy of this work in Bologna between 1500 and 1505 (Botley 2010, p. 59). For a bibliographic description, see ISTC ie00112000; GW 09426.

[46] It is noteworthy that, although a professor of Greek, Hernán Núñez only purchased law books for Cisneros. See Aguadé Nieto 2002a, p. 70, 77 & 79-80.

digm of humanism in Spain (García Oro 1992, p. 233 & 352). However, its objectives, as its name suggested, cannot be disconnected from Cisneros's project. The purpose of its creation was nothing else than providing the university with a school specifically for the study of the Sacred Scriptures. Certainly, neither classical antiquity nor the pagan legacy was its object of study, but rather the Bible and the writings of early Christian authors (the so-called Fathers of the Church), from both the East and the West, as Gómez de Castro wrote later that century:

> Na[m] pr[a]eterqua[m] q[ua] sacra pontificum decreta linguarum peritiam in academiis excole[n]dam adhortantur, pullulantium circa religionem sectaru[m] inve[n]tores qui se fontes ipsos sacraru[m] literarum petere praese ferunt, quantu[m] viris theologis necessaria sit, improbitate sua declaraverunt. (Gómez de Castro 1569, fol. 226r)

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Abstract

This paper studies the role of Ancient Greek in the Collegium and University of Alcalá's curricula as well as its teaching methods and tools in its grammar school between 1495 and 1517. My contribution is mainly based on the lists of books that Cisneros bought for the Collegium between 1496 and 1509, the constitutions of the University of Alcalá published in 1510, 1513, and 1515, the 1512 inventory of the university library, and documents related to Alcalá's book market. Examining the claim that Cisneros's project to install a Greek curriculum was a product of his humanist interests, I also illustrate how the teaching of Greek was related to Cisneros's Polyglot Bible and old Christian ideals rather than it was a means to read pagan authors.

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CHRÉTIEN WECHEL (*c.* 1495-1554) AND GREEK PRINTING IN PARIS

EDUCATION, NETWORKS, AND QUESTIONS OF ORTHODOXY*

Introduction

Chrétien Wechel (*c.* 1495-1554), the main focus of this paper, was one of the most important printers of Greek in sixteenth-century Paris. The fact that the French capital was the principal center for Greek printing during this period, alongside the fact that Wechel was active during the most dynamic period for Greek publishing in France (that which is associated with the establishment of the *Collège des lecteurs royaux*, more widely known as the *Collège royal*), renders his work and success even more significant. Wechel's business spanned for over three decades. It was moreover an enterprise which survived his nephew André's (d. 1581) precarious flight to Frankfurt during the massacre of St Bartholomew's Eve and continued to flourish well into the seventeenth century (Evans, 1975; MacLean, 2009, p. 163-225). Although perhaps less famous than other scholarly printers such as Josse Bade (1461/2-1535), Simon de Colines (*c.* 1480-1546), Robert Estienne (1503-1559), or Guillaume Morel (1505-1564), during the years of his activity, Chrétien Wechel was responsible for almost 200 Greek editions and was therefore probably the most

productive printer-publisher of Greek in Paris in terms of the editions he issued.[1]

This paper will discuss Wechel's production and success in relation to his connections with the *Collège royal*. As part of a wider network of printers and scholars, Wechel played a crucial role in the dissemination of aspects of Greek humanism. Through examining his publications and connections, this article will therefore contribute to our understanding of the general context of Greek studies and their impact in sixteenth-century Paris. It will also provide useful insights into the provision of books to institutions teaching Greek in the sixteenth century as well as the teaching practices themselves, about which we have little and usually fragmented information.[2] In this context, the reader will also get a glimpse of the significance accorded to antiquity in relation to the interest in biblical literature in Greek. In connection with that, the paper will investigate whether we can establish a link between Wechel's involvement in the new learning and any indications of a possible permissive stance toward heterodox beliefs, as it was the perception at the time – sometimes more justified than others.

As is widely known, the *Collège royal* was founded in imitation of the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain (established in 1517), the quincentenary of which is celebrated in this volume (for the Trilingue, see de Vocht 1951-1955; Papy 2018). And even though the *Collegium Trilingue* materialized quickly (although far from

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[1] Cf. Constantinidou 2015, p. 284 (fig. 13.4) & 289. Unfortunately, no complete bibliography of Wechel's editions exists. The majority of the data used in this article come from the USTC (*Universal Short Title Catalogue*, www.ustc. ac.uk), unless otherwise stated. Even though the USTC is not always complete or fully reliable yet, it is a solid starting point for this kind of research, to be complemented by other bibliographies and copy inspection. For this purpose, reference in this article is also often made to the collective volumes of Maillard & al. 1999; Maillard & Flamand 2010, and Boudou & al. 2009 (henceforth referred to as *FH I*, *FH II*, and *FH IV*, respectively), as well as to individual library copies. Particularly useful is also the online bibliography of Parisian editions (BP16: *Bibliographie) des éditions parisiennes du 16ᵉ siècle*, accessible online at https://bp16. bnf.fr/), which, however was not fully consulted for this essay, as its coverage for the years under consideration was not complete during the writing process.

[2] See e.g. Pontani 2007; Ciccolella & Silvano 2017; Ciccolella 2022; Raf Van Rooy's essay in this volume, as well as more specific references to the teaching of Greek in France, provided below.

smoothly) in accordance with the will of Jérôme de Busleyden (*c.* 1470-1517), in the French case it was only after a decade of the first mentions of it that the *Collège* finally came into being (for the *Collège royal*, see Lefranc 1893; Lefranc & al. 1932; Fumaroli 1998; Tuilier 2006). Like its counterpart in Louvain, prominent in this endeavor had been leading personalities such as the humanists Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542) and Guillaume Budé (1468-1542) – and even behind the scenes, Erasmus (*c.* 1466-1536). The first to be appointed royal lecturer of Greek was Pierre Danès (1497-1577), along with Jacques Toussain (1499?-1547), Budé's favorite student, and probably after the scholar's recommendation (for Toussain's appointment, see Omont 1903; Delaruelle 1922, p. 140; Allen 1906-1958, IX, ep. 2421). Danès only served in this role until 1534 (see *FH I*, p. 97-99; Irigoin 1998, p. 233-244), when he was replaced by Jean Strazel (Jan de Strazeele, Straselius, d. *c.* 1558; see Girot 1998, p. 63-65), but Toussain remained at this position until his death in 1547, from where he was able to have a significant impact on Greek studies in France, instructing an impressive list of students such as Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Théodore de Bèze, Nicolas Bourbon, Robert Breton, Jean Cheradame, Étienne Dolet, Jean Dorat, Léger Du Chesne, Henri II Estienne, Jacques Goupyl, Louis Le Roy, Denis Lambin, Thomas Linacre, Guillaume Morel, Fédéric Morel, Petrus Ramus, Omer Talon, Adrien de Turnèbe, and others (cf. Beaud-Gambier 1989).

The establishment of the *Collège royal* was associated with another institution for the promotion of Greek studies, that of the *imprimeur royal pour le grec*, through which there was – at least in theory – some provision for the availability of texts for the students of Greek. Yet this title was not introduced until ten years later, in 1539/1540 (Armstrong 1954, p. 118-119, 128-129 & 139; see also Coron 1998). Thus, as this paper will show, the activities of Chrétien Wechel were closely linked both to the college and its activities, as he appears to have been the main printer providing the college with texts – certainly for the decade between 1530-1540 and perhaps a bit later. Although the *typographus regius* was not intended as a role of an academic printer per se, a close connection between the two institutions was implicit, especially since the first *typographus* Conrad Néobar

(d. 1540) was related to Toussain by marriage, even though in all likelihood he was not a printer at the time of his appointment (see Armstrong 1954, p. 118-119 & 124). Wechel was also involved in this network, as Néobar had been employed at his workshop as a proofreader before this appointment. Although Toussain eventually turned to Néobar and his workshop for his publications before 1540, the main provider of the *Collège* was Wechel.

This paper will analyze Wechel's Greek production with information from bibliographies, as well as from his sales catalogues, and will discuss their use in teaching. It will also treat his publishing relationship with Toussain through establishing connections between the professor's teaching and choice of printers. Finally, it will touch upon Wechel's implication in the Sorbonne hearing of 1533/1534 and will examine whether there is any ground for linking his activities as a printer-publisher of (Greek) books to possible heterodox views. The analysis will illustrate that even though we lack concrete evidence for such connections, a series of secondary and circumstantial evidence, such as Wechel's publications and networks, paint a picture of an association between Wechel's activities and inclinations toward a religious renaissance and return to the sources. This could be associated either with a humanist interest in the fundamentals of belief and morality, the continuity of which was manifested – according to humanist scholars – throughout the centuries, or with an interest in early Reformers from the Holy Roman Empire, or with both these approaches. Wechel's publications thus are a key piece of the complicated puzzle of Greek humanism and the impact of Greek studies in sixteenth-century France.

1. *Chrétien Wechel and his Greek Publications (c. 1530-1550)*

Chrétien Wechel came from Herentals, near Antwerp, and was the son of a priest. He had received a good education and had arrived in Paris by 1518-1519 (Armstrong 1961). He founded his publishing and printing business in 1526, after having acted as manager ('facteur') for the publisher-bookseller Conrad Resch

(d. after 1552), whose business he eventually bought (Armstrong 1961, p. 341-342). Wechel was a scholarly printer, in the sense that he specialized in Latin and Greek printing, issuing about 450 Latin editions throughout his career and about 190 Greek, as mentioned above. He printed very few French books, about 58 editions, whereas he also produced about twenty editions in Hebrew (see Tables 1 & 2).

TABLE 1
Chrétien Wechel's production (based on number of titles per language)
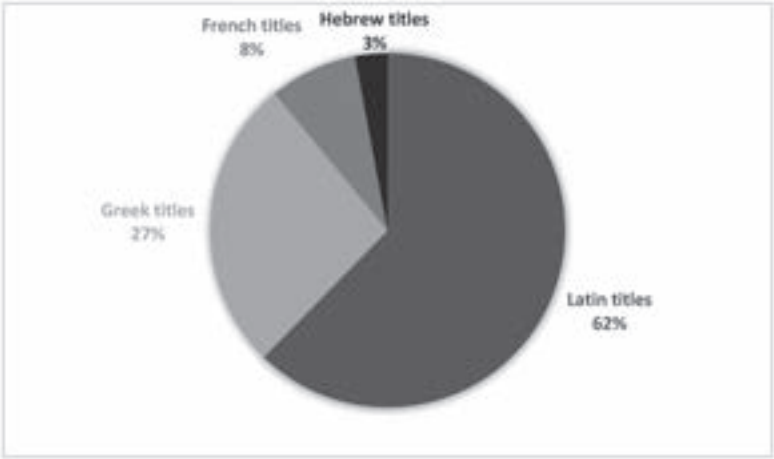
TABLE 2
Chart of Chrétien Wechel's Greek editions per year
in relation to his total production, in number of titles

In what follows Wechel's Greek publications will be analyzed from two perspectives. First, they will be considered in terms of the number of editions per author, while also being arranged in thematic categories. Second, they will be assessed on the basis of two of his sales catalogues, and the classification which these indicate that Wechel adopted when marketing his editions. This will give us an overview of the Greek part of his business and will demonstrate the kinds of texts which were being used for teaching Greek, as much of his production seems to have been intended for pedagogic use. This consideration will also highlight any editions which may not match our anticipations regarding school texts.

To appreciate the extent to which Wechel's business was geared toward education and the student market, it suffices to mention that among the Greek editions issued during Wechel's lifetime, between a quarter and a third, namely 55 to 60 books, were books of grammar, syntax, and other Greek learning aids.[3] Likewise, many of his other Greek editions bear all the typical features of textbooks: they are monolingual Greek editions, rather than bilingual Latin-Greek, which were intended for scholarly study and comparison. They also do not include commentaries such as scholarly editions would; indeed, it is very rare to find any paratextual material at all.[4] The majority of them, moreover, are printed in octavo and quarto, the main formats of teaching manuals.[5]

Of the grammar and syntax books published by Chrétien Wechel, the ones printed most often were those of Nicolas Clenardus (*c.* 1495-1542) and Theodore Gaza (*c.* 1415-1475/6). His production includes 17 editions of Clenardus, many of them

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[3] On Greek grammars in sixteenth-century France, and some aspects of Wechel's activity in this subject, see Constantinidou 2022b.

[4] Out of 40 editions that I have personally inspected, only six contained some paratextual material; of these, only two included prefatory or other material signed by Wechel himself.

[5] Although the evidence is not comprehensive, since no complete bibliography of Wechel's publications exists, a total of about 85% of Wechel's Greek books were printed in these two formats: 45% in octavo, and about 40% in quarto. For an analysis of the typology of Greek books see Constantinidou 2022a; for a discussion of different formats and their use, see e.g. Febvre & Martin 1997, p. 87-90; Richardson 1999, p. 122-129; Walsby 2020, p. 49-51.

edited by René Guillon (1500-1570).[6] Gaza's *Institutiones grammaticae* were printed about 14 times, either completely or in parts, sometimes in the original Greek and sometimes with added Latin translation. Wechel also printed Johannes Varennius' *Syntaxis linguae Graecae* four times (1541, 1546, 1548 & 1552), as well as his work on the accents (1542 & 1544). Other grammars and teaching aids like Arnoldus Oridryus' *Summa linguae Graecae* (1531, 1537 & 1538); Manuel Chrysoloras' *Erotemata* are also included in Wechel's production (1534, 1539 & 1547), as well as Constantinus Lascaris' *De quorundam verborum constructione* (1535 & 1537). To this list of grammars and teaching aids, I should add the seven editions of *Alphabeta* printed between 1529 and 1545 (1529, 1530, 1532, 1539, 1540, 1545 & 1549), as well as three editions of Adrien Amerot's treatise on the Greek dialects (1534, 1541, 1542 & 1544; see also Hoven 1985, p. 9-11). Although different in size and scope, in the category of books on Greek learning I should perhaps also include the large folio edition of Calepino's *Dictionarium*. This is an impressive volume, for which Wechel received the help of Jean Strazeele, and it is one of the few that Wechel proudly prefaced himself.[7]

From the remaining two thirds of his Greek production, most were staple textbooks destined for teaching – sometimes reprinted from other editions from abroad – some of which he printed more than once. Given the fact that the evidence for the teaching of Greek in the sixteenth century is both scattered and inconsistent, details about Wechel's publications provide useful information about the instruction itself and the sorts of texts that sixteenth-century students of Greek were being exposed to.[8]

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[6] Clenardus' *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* were issued in 1533 (twice), 1534, 1536, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, and 1549. His other work, the *Meditationes Graecaniae in artem grammaticam* (often published together with the *Institutiones*), was issued in 1534, 1536, 1539, 1541, and 1542. It is possible that Wechel focused on promoting Clenardus after the end of his collaboration with Toussain (see below, and Constantinidou 2022b, p. 312).

[7] *Lexicon nunc denique post omnes omnium editiones diligentissime impressum* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, with Claude Chevallon, 1534).

[8] It is difficult to know how many annotated copies of his editions survive: from my own research, I have identified annotations in 26 out of 40 copies inspected, a proportion that indicates that many more are to be discovered. Student annotations are rarely studied, with a few exceptions (see for, example, Reverdin

The five authors who feature the most in Wechel's Greek publications are Lucian, Aristotle, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Homer, an order that – with the exception of Aristotle, whose works in Latin translations exceeded any other Greek author's – mirrors the general trend of Greek printing in Europe (Constantinidou forthcoming). Thus, the most frequently printed author from Wechel's presses was Lucian, with 23 editions of mostly individual works. These amount to at least 12 separate titles, most of which were printed twice, while we also see four collections of dialogues. The most popular of these dialogues was the *Dialogues of the Dead* (*Dialogi mortuorum*) with three editions (1532, 1535 & 1536). Lucian's works were short and written in relatively easy Attic prose, and thus constituted accessible textbooks. The popularity of Lucian in instruction, we can assume, was introduced by Chrysoloras (Lauvergnat-Gagnière 1988; Marsh 1998; Botley 2010, p. 85-88). Lucian's role in the transition from the learning of elementary Greek through prayers to more complex profane authors is perhaps best evidenced in a Louvain edition of 1523, which combines prayers and simple extracts from the Bible together with 12 short dialogues of Lucian.[9]

Other books which were typically used for teaching, such as texts by orators, were also prominent in Wechel's production, with eight editions of Isocrates (three of which were his oration *Ad Demonicum* in 1532, 1536 & 1550), and six editions of Demosthenes.[10] In the same vein, Wechel also printed Hermogenes' rhetorical treatises. He published four of them between 1530 and 1531, reprinting the *Ars Rhetorica* in 1538 as well as *De methodo grauitatis* in 1548.[11] Another author – whose works

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1984 and the valuable Letrouit 1999). For texts used in the teaching of Greek see also Delaruelle 1922; Irigoin 1998 & 2006; Sandy 2002; Constantinidou 2018.

[9] *Tabulae sane quam utiles Graecarum musarum adyta compendio ingredi cupientibus. Selecti aliquot Luciani dialogi, cum aliis nonnullis* (Louvain: Thierry Martens, 1523). It includes Aleandro's introductory tables, then short passages from Matthew, extracts from St Paul's letter to the Romans, prayers and graces, followed by twelve short dialogues of Lucian (Botley 2010, p. 87 & 147-148).

[10] There had been a long tradition of studying Demosthenes, especially the *Olynthiacs* and his exchanges with Aeschines, starting with Filelfo in 1427, whereas Melanchthon lectured regularly on Demosthenes at Wittenberg (1524-1527). See Botley 2010, p. 94-95 and Tangri 2006.

[11] Περὶ εὑρέσεων τόμοι τέσσαρες. *De inventione tomi quatuor* (1530); Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ τελειοτάτη. *Ars rhetorica absolutissima* (1531); Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος.

seem to have been used in a similar fashion despite the difficulty of the language – was Thucydides. Wechel printed a collection of his *Demegoriae* (*Conciones*) in 1531 as well as a partial edition of his *Histories* (*Historiae liber primus* and *Historiae liber secundus*, 1535; *FH II*, p. 450). In the same list of works associated with poetics and rhetoric I should place many of Wechel's editions of Aristotle. Of the fourteen editions of works by the Stagirite (which represent nine titles), Wechel printed *De interpretatione* three times (1531, 1538 & 1540), *De arte poetica* (1538), *De arte rhetorica* (1538), and *Praedicamentorum liber* (1538),[12] while he also issued the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De virtutibus* and a few of his works on physics and biology.[13]

The indispensable Homer also featured well in Wechel's output, with many editions of the *Iliad* in parts, one edition of the first five books of the *Odyssey*, as well as the *Batrachomyomachia*, then attributed to Homer.[14] This makes Wechel the publisher who brought out most Greek editions of Homer in sixteenth-century Paris, in itself not an insignificant achievement (cf. Ford 2007, p. 322-377). Of other poets, Wechel printed Aristophanes the most, issuing three editions of his collected works (1540, 1546 & 1550), and one just of *Plutus* (cf. Bastin-Hammou 2020). Aristophanes was another typical textbook, with *Plutus* in particular having a firm place in the long humanist tradition of Greek teaching, especially among Byzantine scholars such as Chrysoloras, Musurus, and Gaza. Much of his appeal was based on his clear Attic language, moral teachings, as well as the comic element which provided for a nice change from other texts (Botley 2010, p. 88-91; Bastin-Hammou 2020, p. 83-84). Meanwhile, beyond the Alps, Aristophanes had become a staple author

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De methodo gravitatis, sive virtutis commode dicendi (1531); and Περὶ ἰδεῶν τόμοι δύο. *De formis orationum tomi duo* (1531).

[12] The 1538 edition of these four titles was procured by the Benedictine Jean Olivier (cf. Boulhol 2014, p. 207).

[13] e.g. Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως βιβλία η΄. *Naturalis auscultationis libri octo* ([Paris]: Chrétien Wechel, 1532); Περὶ ζώων μορίων βιβλία δ΄. *De partibus animalium libri quatuor* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1548).

[14] Cf. Wechel 1544, sig. A7v: '*Homeri Iliados, liber primus, secundus, tertius, und.* || *lib. Quartus, quintus, sextus, und.* || *lib. sept. oct. Nonus, dea. und* || *Homeri Odysseae liber primus, 2°. 3. 4. 5 [...] Ranarum & murium pugna Homeri*'. Cf. Ford 2007, p. 24 & 186.

being lectured on by Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) in Tübingen in 1520 (Botley 2010, p. 91-92) and Pierre Davantès (Antesignanus; 1525-1561) in Lyon (see Antesignanus in Clenardus 1554, p. 203-207).

Wechel's workshop also produced six editions of works by (Pseudo-)Plutarch. Four of these were of *De liberis educandis*, which were particularly popular in teaching (1529, 1536, 1547 & 1550). Wechel's version was edited by Philipp Melanchthon, whose preface was often included in this edition.[15] One of the other two editions was Plutarch's moral treatise, *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate*, printed together with Basilius of Caesarea's *Ad adolescentes* (1542; cf. Schucan 1973), whereas the final one is his account of views of philosophers preceding him on the topic of physics.[16] Another two works which were very popular in teaching and which Wechel printed were Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* in two parts, and the same author's *Hiero* twice (1547 & 1550; cf. Humble 2016, p. 416-434; Marsh 1992, VII, p. 109-112; Irigoin 2003). Beyond classical examples, but still well within the context of short, easy, and morally valuable texts for instruction, the workshop issued John Chrysostom's homily *De orando Deum*.[17] Wechel reprinted the Erasmus-Froben edition of this work four times (1531, 1535, 1536 & 1538), while for a different audience he also issued a bilingual edition of Chrysostom's *Missa*, translated by Erasmus.[18]

Wechel also printed a selection of Plato's works, including the *Timaeus* and the *Symposium*, as well as the Pseudo-Platonic *Epistles* and *Axiochus*, which were in some cases used for teaching, particularly since the text of *Timaeus* was linked to the medieval quadrivium.[19] His publications also include three editions of the very popular tract *Sphaera* by (Pseudo-)Proclus (1531, 1536 &

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[15] Cf. e.g. Plutarch 1529, sig. A1v; Botley 2010, p. 97-99. See also Pade 2007.

[16] Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτομῆς. *De placitis philosophorum, physicorum epitomes libri quinque* (1551).

[17] Chrysostom was published multiple times in Louvain, too, by Rutgerus Rescius, for the purposes of instruction. See also Constantinidou 2020.

[18] John Chrysostom, *Missa graecolatina, D. Erasmo interprete* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1537).

[19] Adrien de Turnèbe lectured on the *Timaeus* in Paris (Constantinidou 2018, p. 271 & 273-274). Evidence for the teaching of the *Timaeus* and the *Symposium* at Italian universities is provided in Grendler 2002, p. 297, 300 & 304.

1542), often used in the teaching of physics and mathematics (cf. Wechel 1544, sig. B1v).[20]

Wechel produced other works only in one or two editions, some of which were clearly intended for instruction, as they were part of different curricula: these were the tragedies of Aeschylus, Gaza's Greek translation of Cicero, poems by Musaeus, Phocylides, Pindar, Herodotus' *Histories*, Justinian's *Institutiones*, Nicomachus Gerasinus' *Arithmeticae*, Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Michael Psellus' *Arithmeticae*, as well as Ptolemy's *Geographia*.[21] The intentions behind the publication of some other texts, however, are slightly more difficult to decipher. These include some texts by Cyril of Alexandria and John of Damascene,[22] one oration by Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as a tragedy bearing his name, Heliodorus of Emesa's novel *Historia Aethiopica*, the text by Athenagoras on the resurrection of the dead,[23] the mystical text by Horapollo,[24] Jamblichus,[25] and Theodoret of Cyrus.[26] That these texts appeared once indicates that they may have been less driven by market demand, or they just responded to limited demand.

Finally, concerning medicine, I should mention Wechel's sole Greek edition of Hippocrates (in contrast to nine Latin editions of the same author) as well as four Greek editions by Galen: *Ad Glauconem* in octavo (1537), and the triple folio edition of *De pulsibus*, *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, and *De usu partium* in 1543.[27] Another Galenic work printed by the same

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[20] On the reception of Pseudo-Proclus see Biank 2019.

[21] For Wechel's edition of Pindar (1535), see Girot 2002, p. 42-49, who suggests that Jacques Toussain was the responsible editor.

[22] Περὶ ἐξόδου ψυχῆς, καὶ δευτέρας παρουσίας λόγος. Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς Περὶ Ἀναστάσεως. Ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ παραδείσου (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1538).

[23] Περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν. *De resurrectione mortuorum.* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1541).

[24] Ἱερογλυφικά. *De sacris notis et sculpturis libri duo. Quibus accessit versio, recens concinnata, et observationes non infrugiferae* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1548).

[25] Τὰ θεολογούμενα τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1543); *FH II*, p. 503-505.

[26] Περὶ προνοίας λόγοι δέκα. *De providentia sermones X.* (Paris: Chrestien Wechel, 1547).

[27] *De elementis* is not included in the USTC. Copy consulted: Durham Palace Green Library, shelf mark Routh 22.c.5/2; the other two editions are USTC

workshop was of a different nature: Galen's *Exhortatio ad bonas artes et de optimo docendi*, translated by Erasmus, was of a pedagogical nature, exhorting the young to study the arts, and philosophy in particular.[28]

This overview of Wechel's publications illustrates, among other aspects, the size and variety of Wechel's output. The majority of it was obviously intended for teaching purposes, even though texts such as the *Hieroglyphica*, for instance, would not necessarily fit this description. Further important evidence regarding this production, which provides some help in classifying it, comes from Wechel's sales or marketing catalogues (Guilleminot-Chrétien 2015). One such catalogue is the one reproduced in Conrad Gessner's second volume of his *Bibliotheca universalis* (1546) probably dating from 1542-1543 (Gessner 1548, fols 165-166), while a second one is a sales catalogue dating from 1544 (Wechel 1544). Both catalogues classify the books according to subject, and subsequently subdivide them into languages. They are both consistent in their classification of specific books, without any variations, apart from the fact that the later catalogue is much more detailed and comprises more titles which had appeared in the interval between the publication of the two catalogues. Catalogues were a useful marketing tool, and the consistency in the listing would give the readers a sense that the publisher was reliable. They may also provide us with useful information regarding the use of these books. Furthermore, these listings identify the audience to which the books would be sold and indicate that Wechel provided books to be used at a number of faculties (on sales catalogues as historical sources, see Walsby 2013; Coppens & Nuovo 2018).

Thus the first three sections of both catalogues correspond to the medieval *trivium* with books on grammar, logic, and rhetoric. Apart from the obvious titles, the section on '*Grammatica*'

199385 and USTC 160198, respectively. These four Greek editions of Galen pale before the 46 Latin editions of the same author's work which Wechel issued.

[28] Προτρεπτικὸς λόγος πρὸς τὰς τέχνας. Περὶ ἀρίστης διδασκαλίας. Ὅτι ἄριστος ἰατρὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος. *Adiecta est versio Latine D. Erasmi Rot.* (Paris: Chrestien Wechel, 1541), not in USTC; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (henceforth BNF), Gallica ref. FRBNF 37229340 (microfilm).

also lists Amerot's treatise on dialects; even more interestingly, however, the category also includes a volume of Lucian's 'seven first dialogues' as well as *multa alia eiusdem opuscula et dialogi separatim* (listed individually in the 1542 catalogue), pointing toward the use of Lucian's works as textbooks for language and grammar teaching (Gessner 1548, fol. 165v; Wechel 1544, sig. A3r). Lucian's grouping with grammar books also confirms an inductive approach toward Greek language studies (see Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 136 & n. 544).

After the section on rhetoric (under which we find Aphthonius and the works on rhetoric by Aristotle and Hermogenes), there is a separate section entitled *orationes, et similis argumenti*. This less clearly defined category comprises texts by Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Isocrates, as expected, as well as an edition of the orations in Thucydides' first book of *Histories*. Perhaps less expectedly, the section *orationes* also includes Gregory of Nazianzus' sermon against the emperor Julian, an edition of Guillaume Budé's letters,[29] as well as Galen's *Exhortatio* (Gessner 1548, fol. 165v; Wechel 1544, sig. A5v). 'History' and 'Poetry' contain almost no surprises, except perhaps for the listing of the *Cyropaedia* under the former section. Also interesting is the inclusion of the tragedy about Christ attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus under the heading of poetry (in the 1544 catalogue), among works by Homer, Aristophanes, Phocylides, Musaeus, Planudes' translation of the *Disticha Catonis* as well as Aristotle's *Ars poetica*.

Plutarch's *De liberis educandis*, (Pseudo-)Cebes' *Tabula* as well as the collection *Aurea Pythagorae carmina* are listed under '*moralia*'. In the later catalogue from 1544, there are two additions in this category: the Pseudo-Aristotelian text *De virtutibus* as well as Gaza's translation of Cicero's *De senectute*. An interesting category is '*physica et mathematica*', which comprises works by Aristotle, Plato's *Timaeus* (and in the later catalogue, the *Symposium* as well), the books on arithmetic by Nicomachus Gerasinus and Michael Psellus as well as (Pseudo-)Proclus' *Sphaera* in

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[29] Ἐπιστολαὶ ἑλληνικαί, δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔναγχος αὐξηθεῖσαι τε καὶ προσαπηκριβωμέναι. *Graecae epistolae, nuper tum locupletiores tum emendatiores redditae* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1540).

a bilingual edition. Under theology Wechel markets books such as the *Missa Graecolatina* of John Chrysostom, a Book of Hours, St Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* in the 1544 catalogue, as well as the short (but very popular) tract by Chrysostom, *De orando Deum*, and Athenagoras' *De resurrectione mortuorum*.

Under legal books we find the *Epitome iuris civilis* or Πρόχειρον of Constantinus Harmenopoulus as well as the translation of the *Institutiones iuris civilis* by Theophilus Antecessor. Finally, in the category of medical books we find an edition of Hippocratic texts including the *Iusiurandum*, *De arte. De antiqua medicina*, and *De medico*, and a number of editions of works by Galen.

All in all, of the two catalogues, the most recent one (1544) lists 52 Greek books, alongside 187 Latin, 14 Hebrew, and 14 French titles. Given the number of Greek books printed by Wechel, it is instructive to consider his Greek production in relation to his total output. Such an assessment on the basis of titles suggests that the Greek part of his work, on the whole, followed the trajectory of the overall sum of his publications. In terms of the total number of titles published, the top three years for Wechel's production were, in descending order, 1538, 1536, and 1531. The same pattern applies to his Greek editions, and this furthermore coincides with the first active years of the *Collège royal*. In the precarious business of publishing, Wechel's provision for teaching colleges ensured a return of his capital. The table charting his yearly production, however, also reveals two significant drops in Wechel's production, which are much more noticeable in his Greek output: the years 1533/1534 and the year 1545. The former was the year that Wechel's name was implicated in the investigation ordered by the Paris Faculty of Theology into the teaching of ancient languages, and 1545 was the year that the Sorbonne republished the 1543 Articles of Faith, along with the Faculty's catalogue of prohibited books (Farge 1985, p. 208-213). Whether out of fear for his business or people in his network, these two drops reflect the contemporary circumstances and Wechel's reaction toward the suspicion that arose about Greek works and teaching Greek. I will discuss both these aspects, Wechel's connections with the *Collège royal* and the implication of his name in the investigation, in the remainder of this essay.

2. *Wechel and the Collège Royal*

The links between the *Collège royal* and the publishing industry of the time are crucial for our understanding of aspects of the teaching of Greek, the motivations behind it, as well as facets of its impact. It is, moreover, a subject that requires further investigation. Out of the few printers who specialized in Greek, Wechel was probably the one who most regularly provided publications required for the teaching at the new college. Additionally, evidence indicates that throughout the years of his activity Wechel collaborated with, and served the needs of, not just one, but a number of Greek professors and their students. An early example, and probably the most celebrated one, is the 1531 edition of the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes, used by Pierre Danès in his teaching, as a copy studied by Olivier Reverdin (1984, p. 11) proves.[30] Surviving copies of other editions with annotations point to a strong connection between Wechel and the other royal lecturer of Greek, Jacques Toussain.

Toussain came from an area close to Troyes and before his royal appointment he had first worked as an editor for the renowned scholar-printer Josse Bade, while also giving private lessons (see Omont 1903, p. 417-419; Bietenholz & Deutscher 1985, vol. 3, p. 336-337; Beaud-Gambier 1989; *FH II*, p. 369-374). Whilst in Bade's employment, he prepared editions both according to the printer's instructions and following his own taste (Beaud-Gambier 1988, p. 206; 1989, p. 337-339; *FH II*, p. 376-449). As the scholar notably did not sign many of the editions that he worked on, there is a certain amount of speculation as to the texts that he chose to prepare for publication. Around the time of his appointment at the *Collège* (1530), it seems, however, that he turned to Wechel for his publications, although the reasons for this switch are not clear.[31] Although a small

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[30] Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, shelf mark Hc 1020 Rés.

[31] Yet, Bade did publish a number of Greek texts in 1529/1530 (5 editions of Isocrates and 3 of Demosthenes). Bade did not die until five years later (1535); one could perhaps tentatively consider Bade's support for the Sorbonne in the case against Erasmus for this switch. Toussain and Trezler also seem to have printed a number of books with Jean Loys, whom they met at Josse Bade's workshop, where Jean Loys also acted as a corrector between 1527 and 1535.

number of scholars have touched upon Toussain's collaboration with three workshops (Bade, Néobar/Esmée Tousan, and Jacques Bogard), there has been little discussion on his connection with Wechel (Beaud-Gambier 1988). One of the first fruits of this collaboration, the precise nature of which is difficult to determine, was an improved bilingual edition of Theodore Gaza's grammar, published by Wechel in 1530.[32] Toussain's name only appears in the second edition (that of 1531), after he became *lecteur royal*.[33] As mentioned above, Wechel reprinted the grammar either completely or in parts for a few years to come: in 1535, 1536, 1539, 1540, and 1542 (*FH II*, p. 409-413). Moreover, for about ten years, up to roughly 1540, Wechel printed a number of works that Toussain lectured on. Thus, in 1535, Wechel printed the first book of Thucydides' *Histories*, which from annotations in surviving copies we can assume that Toussain used for teaching Greek (cf. Dionisotti 1983, p. 197, n. 68; *FH II*, p. 450). Similarly, annotations in other books bear testimony to the order in which Toussain lectured on a number of authors and texts. For example, in 1537, he lectured on Galen's *Ad Glauconem*,[34] in 1538 on Musaeus' *De Hero et Leandro* and *Sententiae*,[35] then Herodotus' first

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[32] *Grammaticae libri quatuor, addita versione Latina, iterum exactus a quodam Graece doctissimo collati: demptis adulterinis quibusdam, et versione ubi videbatur castigatiori.* See *FH II*, p. 408; Constantinidou 2022b, p. 310.

[33] *Grammaticae libri quatuor, addita versione Latina, iterum exactus a quodam Graece doctissimo collati: demptis adulterinis quibusdam, et versione ubi videbatur castigatiori beneficio Jacobi Tussani, professoris Regii, multis locis quam antea castigatiori.* See *FH II*, p. 408-409.

[34] Γαληνοῦ τῶν πρὸς Γλαύκωνα θεραπευτικῶν βιβλίων β'. *Galeni de ratione medendi ad Glauconem libri duo* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1536), text edition with commentary by Jean Gonthier d'Andernach. According to annotations in the copy (BNF Rés. 8° Te 17 9), Toussain's course started on December 5, 1537 and finished on April 2, 1538: sig. h1v (p. 114): '*Absoluit 35 lectionibus secundum librum anno 1535 die martis 2. Aprilis*'. Another annotation reads: '*Haec dictavit Jacobus Tusanus in praelectione huius opusculi anno 1537 die 5. Decembris*' (as cited in *FH II*, p. 455). In a later Latin edition of the same text, i.e. *Claudii Galeni ad Glauconem libri duo, interprete Martino Akakia Catalaunensi, doctore Medico* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1538), Toussain wrote a poem in praise of the translator (*FH II*, p. 460-462).

[35] Τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον. *Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro.* Γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν. *Sententiae monostichi ex variis poetis* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1538). See *FH II*, p. 464-465. BNF copy Rés. p. Yb 61 1-3* records the beginning of the course: '*Inceptum mensis Maii praelegente*

book of *Histories*,[36] and the first books of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.[37] These are all books that were printed in the same order and in the same year by Wechel. It is obvious, therefore, that Wechel was printing 'on demand' for the needs of the professor, although there is evidence of one or two instances in between that Toussain was lecturing on texts published by a different printer.[38]

This close connection was interrupted in 1540, with the appointment of Conrad Néobar, Wechel's corrector, as royal printer of Greek, who, as mentioned above, was related to Toussain by marriage. During the one year that Néobar held this title before his unexpected death, a similar link between his workshop and Toussain can be observed on the basis of the sequence of teaching and publications.[39] It thus appears that in 1540 Toussain made the interesting choice to teach the *Encheiridion*

D. Tusano, 1538'. The course finished on June 25 at the *Grand collège de Bayeux*: '*Absolutum mensis Junii die 25 D. Jacob. Tusano praelegente in aula colleg. Bellocasionum, ann. 1538*'.

[36] Ἱστοριῶν πρώτη, Κλειώ. *Historiarum liber primus, Clio* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1538), wrongly attributed to Herodian in USTC (147426); see also *FH II*, p. 441. '*Interprete Jacobo Tusano professore Regio*' (from the British Library copy, shelfmark 587 g. 6); see also Dionisotti 1983, p. 197, who records that a note in the same copy testifies to Toussain's interest in Thucydides as well: '*Herodotus recitavit historiam ludis Olympiciis, unde eius gloria motus Thucydides ad historiam etiam colendam se contulit*'. I should also note that Toussain had contributed to the Bade Latin edition of Herodotus' first five books of *Histories* (1528), again wrongly attributed to Herodian in USTC (181124; *FH II*, p. 438-441), as well as the Jean Petit Latin edition of Thucydides' *De bello Peloponnesiaco* of 1528 (*FH II*, p. 444-446).

[37] Κύρου παιδείας βιβλία τέτταρα αʹ. βʹ. γʹ. δʹ. *Xenophontis Cyri paediae libri quatuor priores* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1538); see *FH II*, p. 467. A copy in the private collection of Michel Magnian is annotated up to p. 126. On the same page, there is a note which indicates that Toussain finished his course on this text at the *Collège de Cambrai* on May 7, 1539: '*Praelegente domino Tusano hora octava in schola Cameracensi. Hunc librum absoluit dominus Tussanus die septima maii 1539*' (as cited in *FH*, p. 467). Student annotations in a copy of Hesiod (Colines, 1528) indicate that he had started his course on Xenophon on January 15, 1539: '*x viii: Absolutum decima quinta Januarii [1539] quo die incepit secundum librum pediae Xenophontis ead. Lectione*' (*FH II*, p. 442; cf. also Reverdin 1984, p. 60-61).

[38] Cf. Ἡσιόδου τοῦ Ἀσκραίου ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι (Paris: Simon de Colines, [1528]). See Paris, Sorbonne, MS 1378-2*; *FH II*, p. 442. Cf. Girot 2002, p. 38.

[39] Cf. Beaud-Gambier 1988, p. 201 & 206, where she also suggests that Néobar's editions correspond to Toussain's teaching program.

by Epictetus.[40] He then lectured on Aristophanes' comedies *Plutus* and *Clouds*. He must have used Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* as a break from the comedian's work, only to return to Aristophanes' *Frogs*.[41] The editions of these three authors were produced in roughly the same order within the same two years by Néobar's workshop.

After Néobar's death, Toussain kept the close collaboration with his workshop, perhaps acting, as has been suggested, as its editorial advisor (Beaud-Gambier 1988, p. 201-202). In this respect, it seems that the professor printed most of the material he was working on with Néobar's widow (namely his niece), Esmée (also known as Émonde) Toussan, whilst occasionally working with Wechel as well. An interesting and complex dynamic then emerges, if I interpret the (sequence of) publications correctly. At first, and even after Toussain's turn to a different workshop, Wechel continued to reissue Toussain's edition of Gaza's grammar until 1542. This seems to have stopped within a year after Émonde's marriage to Jacques Bogard and the change of management in the workshop, as from 1543 the grammar appeared mainly from Bogard's workshop (Beaud-Gambier 1988, p. 202-204). Previously, and while Conrad Néobar was still alive, Wechel had also printed the second part of the *Cyropaedia* (1539) despite loosening his collaboration with Toussain.

Two other publications shed further light on this delicate balance but at the same time complicate our understanding of it. One is a complete edition of Aristophanes' eleven comedies by Wechel in the same year that Néobar published *Plutus, Nebulae*, and the *Ranae* (1540), an edition probably instigated by Tous-

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[40] Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἐπικτήτου. *Multis in locis castigatum* (Paris: Conrad Néobar, 1540). See the notes from the copy at BNF, Rés. P. Z 2569-3 and the copy in Bern, Bibliothek Münstergasse, MUE Bong IV 639: 3; the latter indicates that Toussain taught the *Encheiridion* in September 1540 (*FH II*, p. 476-477).

[41] Πλοῦτος. *Plutus.* Νεφέλαι. *Nebulae.* Βάτραχοι. *Ranae* (Paris: Conrad Néobar, 1540) and Ἀργοναυτικά, μετὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τε καὶ πανὺ ὠφελίμων σχολίων (Paris: [Émonde Toussain], 1541). See *FH II*, p. 477-478. The information on the sequence of teaching comes from the Aristophanes copy in Bern, Bibliothek Münstergasse, MUE Bong IV 639: 4: *Plutus* '*1540 octo. post Epictetum*'; *Clouds* '*Hunc librum interpretari coepit Tusanus 12 die ianuarii 1540*'; *Frogs* '*4o oct. 1541 post Apollonium*', '*absolutum 12. die Decembr. 1541*'. For the edition of Apollonius, see *FH II*, p. 481-482. See also Dionisotti 1983, p. 180-181.

sain. Wechel's preface to the reader indicates that his edition can be used as a complete volume or as separate works (they all bear separate title pages) and refers to the quality of the text by saying that it follows the Aldine edition.[42] Wechel's publication, thus, perhaps competed with Néobar's Aristophanes. A further intriguing example is that of a text attributed to Casius Iatrosophista, namely *De animalibus medicae quaestiones et problemata*, the original Greek edition of which was printed by Émonde Toussain.[43] The Latin translation, nonetheless, with which Toussain was also involved, was printed by Wechel, a fact that may indicate an attempt by the professor to keep both publishers happy.[44]

The above analysis and examples therefore establish the extent of the links and collaborations between the royal lecturer of Greek and the publishing industry. Jean Letrouit (1999, p. 48) has further highlighted a document type on the intersection of the printed output and Greek learning at the college: the placards which advertised the courses of each semester. After providing details on the lecturer and the text to be studied, the placard specified the bookseller from whom students could purchase the relevant editions. The surviving copies of these placards are also indispensable for our understanding of the process of teaching and learning, as several of them are (heavily) annotated. These notes show that in his teaching Toussain discussed vocabulary (through discussing synonyms and derivatives), grammar (referring to verbal forms), and syntax (Irigoin 2006, p. 238-239 & 247). The notes occasionally also contain references to parallel passages in other authors and explanations of *realia*. Petrus Ramus praises the professor's method and knowledge as follows,

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[42] There is no mention of this edition in *FH II*; copy consulted: Houghton Library, OGC.Ar.540 (B), sig. a1v. The absence of colophons and a date in the preface makes it difficult to determine the timeline for this edition. One of the comedies, the *Conciones*, bears a 1538 title page, which may perhaps be taken as an indication that Wechel intended to publish these earlier.

[43] Ἰατρικαὶ ἀπορίαι καὶ προβλήματα περὶ ζώων καὶ τετραπόδων (Paris: Émonde Toussain, widow of Conrad Néobar, 1541); *FH II*, p. 484.

[44] *De animalibus medicae quaestiones et problemata, quae hactenus lucem non videre, interprete Hadriano Junio Hornano, Medico* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1541); *FH II*, p. 484-488.

juxtaposing Toussain with Turnèbe, while exalting the former and admonishing the latter:

> 'Every year Toussain used to give courses in Greek grammar [...] Every day he explained the parts of speech and various points of syntax, so as to make the principles and bases of the language which he was teaching sink in all the more easily [...] He lectured upon many authors from all genres of literature – he was always in control of his material but also an able grammarian [...] For him the most important precept in teaching was to pay attention to the etymology and syntax of the words in the passage'.[45]

This evidence about Toussain's teaching is further substantiated by an older testimony by Johann Sturm (1507-1589), on the basis of which we know that the two professors, Danès and Toussain, taught in conjunction, with the former focusing on text commenting, while the latter primarily taught grammar (Irigoin 2006, p. 238-239, especially p. 238, n. 2). This evidence, thus, explains Wechel's numerous reprints of Gaza's grammar, whilst also highlighting the variety of authors and genres used in Toussain's teaching.

It is worth nothing that Toussain's name is almost never mentioned in the editions referred to so far, despite – or perhaps because of – his prominent and influential position and the part he played in his students' understanding of ancient Greek culture and its significance. The professor's name appears on only two specific publications. The first is a bilingual edition of the *De mundo*, attributed to Aristotle and Philo of Alexandria, for which Budé prepared the Latin translation.[46] In this preface, Toussain praises Budé and the virtue of acquiring both ancient languages, referring to the relationship between Greek and Latin as that of mother and daughter, or sisters.[47] The second occurrence of his name is in a posthumous edition of Epictetus' *Encheiri-*

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[45] *Admonitio ad Adrianum Turnebum* (Paris: André Wechel, 1556), fol. 7v-8r, quoted in the translation of Lewis 1998, p. 56.

[46] Περὶ κόσμου (Paris: Josse Bade, [1526]). See also *FH II*, p. 432-434, and, for Budé's Latin translation of the work, *FH I*, p. 59-60.

[47] 'ὡς δὴ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν αὐτὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς δὲ μητέρα [...]'; *FH II*, p. 433.

dion.[48] Although there is no evidence that could help attribute Toussain's overall reticence to either modesty or prudence, the latter seems more probable (cf. Beaud-Gambier 1989, p. 340). This would fit in with the suggestion that Toussain did not sign his editions in order to avoid troubles, as intimated by Conrad Néobar. Addressing the reader in his edition of Cleomedes' Κυκλικὴ θεωρία, Néobar mentions the help of a 'friend', indicating that his anonymity helped evade criticism.[49]

3. *Greek, Heterodoxy, and Wechel*

The consideration of prudence and caution in connection to what one publishes, leads the discussion to the issue of connections between the learning of Greek and the potential risk to the propagators of the language being suspected of heterodox beliefs. Despite the theological concerns of the main figures promoting the establishment of the *Collège royal*, such as Erasmus, its lecturers famously faced opposition from the Faculty of Theology, best remembered (if slightly distorted and largely simplified) in the phrase *qui graecizabant lutheranizabant* ('those who were fond of Greek were fond of Luther'). Evidently, one of the main examples encapsulating the (sometimes only perceived) link between Greek learning and heterodoxy, which also bore witness to the uneasy and changing climate of the first few decades of the sixteenth century in Paris, was the case raised against Erasmus. The Dutch scholar is a notable point of reference in this analysis, as both Toussain and Wechel were connected to him in more or less immediate ways. Thus, the person who inadvertently first brought attention to Erasmus' writings was no other than Conrad Resch (fl. *c.* 1516-1552), Wechel's one-time

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[48] Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἐπικτήτου. *Multis in locis a Jacobo Tusano Regio Graecarum literarum professore castigatum* (Paris: Martin Le Jeune, 1552); *FH II*, p. 477.

[49] *Quo factum est, ut quaedam non satis emendate expressa, quorum nonnulla, quantum amici cuiuspiam vel iudicio, vel coniectura assequi licebit.* Maillard and Flamand, the editors of the epistle to the reader, infer that this friend should be identified with Toussain (*FH II*, p. 468-469). Κλεομήδους κυκλικὴ θεωρία εἰς βιβλία βʹ (Paris: Conrad Néobar for himself and for Jean Loys, 1539); Εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους Ῥητορικὴν ὑπόμνημα ἀνώνυμον. *Nunc primum in lucem editur.* (Paris: Conrad Néobar, 1539); *FH II*, p. 469-472.

employer.[50] We also know that Wechel was in indirect communication with Erasmus via his fellow countryman, and scholarly printer who also specialized in Greek, Gerard Morrhy (fl. 1527-1531).[51] On the other hand, a number of letters between Toussain and Erasmus survive, although sometimes the topic of the exchange is the Dutch scholar's quarrel with Budé, Toussain's mentor (cf. Erasmus 1906-1958, VI, ep. 1713; VII, ep. 1842; VIII, ep. 2119; IX, ep. 2421 & 2449).

Yet even when the Faculty of Theology condemned some of Erasmus' writings (in 1526 and again in 1531), belonging to Erasmus' wider network did not necessarily denote heterodoxy – especially considering that the question was not yet settled in France, at least until the publication of the Faculty of Theology's *Articles of Faith* in 1543 (Farge 1985, p. 186-196; Rummel 1989, vol. 2, ch. 2, esp. p. 46-51). Moreover, one should also note that, at first glance, Wechel's printing activities as a whole do not appear to be advancing aspects of heterodoxy. This is mainly due to the fact that the majority of his output was geared toward teaching and consisted primarily of easy and accessible texts, thus not giving much indication of inclination toward religious dissent by the printer. This becomes particularly obvious, when one juxtaposes the publications and intellectual concerns of other printers of Greek with Wechel, such as Robert Estienne's manifest evangelical preoccupations, for example,[52] or Adrien de Turnèbe's more discrete but still noticeable leaning toward Neoplatonism and syncretism (Constantinidou 2018, esp. p. 272-280 & 283-284; see also Barral-Baron 2020).

Although Wechel managed to lead a successful business until the end of his life and not to raise too much suspicion or be per-

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[50] According to Béda, Resch wished to obtain a privilege from the *Parlement* to reprint Froben's edition of the *Paraphrase on Luke* (Basel, 1523). As he needed a recommendation from the Faculty for this purpose, he approached Béda informally. After Béda's objections, he submitted a formal application to the Faculty (see Farge 1985, p. 177; Rummel 1989, vol. 2, p. 30).

[51] Cf. Gerard Morrhy to Erasmus (April 1530): 'Chrétien Wechel commends himself to you and ardently prays that you be pleased someday to spare a thought of him' (in Erasmus 2015, XVI, ep. 2311, p. 292).

[52] Cf. Armstrong 1954, p. 72-78, 203-207 & 260-268. On his condemnation by the Sorbonne, see Armstrong 1954, p. 165-207; Farge 1985, p. 215-217; *FH IV*, p. 1-15.

secuted, his name and workshop did get involved in investigations into potential religious heterodoxy. Even if not directly in connection with his Greek printing but his Hebrew editions, Wechel's name was implicated in the well-known episode of the 1530s when Noël Béda (*c.* 1470-1537) of the Faculty of Theology found an opportunity to call and question some of the royal lecturers (December 1533; see Farge 1985, p. 205-206; 1992, p. 117-131). Béda's and the Faculty's main concern with the role of the *Collège royal de France* stemmed from the rejection of all ideas that in any way suggested that knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was necessary to the understanding of the Bible (for an overall discussion, see Farge 2006; Roussel 2006). An early move in this direction – and probably designed to warn the royal lecturers who were just being inaugurated – had been the censure by the Faculty of Theology of two propositions in 1530 as 'temerarious and scandalous'. It was decreed thus as 'false and impious' to assert that 'Holy Scripture cannot be correctly understood without Greek, Hebrew, or other languages', and that 'a preacher cannot truly explain the Epistles and Gospels without these languages'.[53]

The pretext for the 1533/1534 incident was a placard announcing the program of the college's lectures. Among information on the courses offered by François Vatable (on the Psalms) and by Pierre Danès (on Aristotle), the placard indicated that the lecturer Agathias Guidacerus would also resume his lectures on the Psalms. Meanwhile 'on Tuesdays at 2' the students would 'study the Hebrew alphabet and the grammar of Moses Rinitius', indicating that copies of this work could be found at Chrétien Wechel's shop.[54] Not named on the poster, Toussain was not called to question (Saladin 2013, p. 394). The mentioned

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[53] 'Determinatio facultatis theologiae Parisiensis [...] *Prima propositio:* La Saincte Escripture ne se pault bonnement entendre sans la langue grecque, hébraïque et aultres semblables. *Censura:* Haec propositio temeraria est et scandalosa. *Secunda propositio:* Il ne se pault faire que ung prédicateur explique selon la vérité l'espitre ou l'évangile sans lesdictes langues. *Censura:* Haec propositio falsa et impia est [...]' (Lefranc 1893, p. 122).

[54] '[...] le mardi à deux heures, un de ses jeunes élèves étudiera l'alphabet hébraïque et la grammaire de Moïse Rinitius. On vend des examplaires de ce dernier ouvrage chez Christian Wechel, à l'Enseigne de l'Écu de Bâle' (Lefranc 1893, p. 144).

persons, however, did appear for an apology in January 1534 (Farge 1985, p. 205-206). In the process, the lecturers were cautioned about highlighting the differences between the Vulgate and certain Greek and Hebrew manuscripts, thus undermining the authority of the accepted text. The *Parlement* confirmed this suggestion, prohibiting them from conducting biblical criticism or teaching theological subjects (Farge 1985, p. 205-206; Saladin 2013, p. 392-394). Further to this, there is indication that 'on the request of the Faculty of Theology, the *Parlement* nominated two councilors to visit bookshops and examine suspect books in the company of two Doctors of the Faculty' (as cited in Higman 1979, p. 31; see also Farge 1985, p. 214).

As scholarship acknowledges, however, the religious climate in Paris in the two decades after Luther's condemnation was in flux, and a number of institutions and figures had a say in what was to be deemed heterodox, including, most importantly, King Francis I. Hence, despite the 1534 ruling against the activities of the college, the work of the *lecteurs royaux* was on the whole supported by the King, thus allowing them to continue their teaching, but perhaps in a more cautious manner (Higman 1979, p. 30; Tuilier 2006). Yet, the fact that the climate around them was changing was evident from the King's reaction after the *affaire des placards* in 1534. Meanwhile, the condemnations of Étienne Dolet and Robert Estienne were taken as strong warnings of new circumstances. These feelings were solidified with the accession of Henri II to the throne in 1547, who adopted an obviously less supportive stance against any hint of heresy or heretical publications.

It would be impossible to assume that the 1533/1534 episode did not affect Wechel's production. Indeed, a correlation between these events and the drop in Wechel's Greek publications for these two years is certainly visible; he issued no Greek books in 1533 and only two in 1534. Likewise, it is difficult not to interpret the noticeable drop in his Greek production in the years 1544 and 1545, the two years following the drawing up and publication of the *Articles of Faith* by the Faculty of Theology (1543 and 1545; Farge 1985, p. 209-223), along similar lines.

It is difficult to ascertain either Wechel's own views, or the extent to which these may have diverged from religious ortho-

doxy. Apart from the fluidity of what constituted orthodoxy, a main problem here is the lack of direct evidence from Wechel himself. As mentioned earlier, there is almost no paratextual material in his editions, whilst the scale and the audience of his production make it difficult to discern clear trends. Despite this lack of concrete evidence, nonetheless, some assumptions can be made from the point of view of his associations and wider networks, when considered in conjunction with some of his printing choices. Taken together, these could imply at least some reforming tendencies.[55]

Some evidence relating to Wechel's network may help us identify aspects of his views by association. In this respect, the fact that from the beginning of his career in Paris, Wechel was linked with a number of early evangelicals is significant. His starting point in the printing business was his employment by Resch, whose bookshop was the center of an intellectual circle in which the works of Luther and Erasmus were equally appreciated, and in which Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (1455-1536) had a prominent place. Resch also acted as an intermediary for Guillaume Farel (1489-1565), passing on his correspondence, and was certainly on close terms with Erasmus.[56] Indeed, ironically, it was through Resch's request for permission to print that Erasmus' work first came under the scrutiny of the Faculty of Theology.[57] Although some scholars see in his activities attempts to maintain a balance between his 'co-operation with controversial authors and opposing religious groups' and to appear compliant with the Faculty of Theology, it is clear that Resch – even if it was business – contributed to the dissemination of anti-Catholic literature (Bietenholz 1971, p. 37-38; Bietenholz & Deutscher 1985, vol. 3, p. 142). After Resch moved to Basel, the sign of the *Écu*

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[55] This is also the view that – with varied emphasis – a number of scholars seem to ascribe to Wechel: see Febvre & Martin 1997, p. 303; Higman 1998, p. 107 & 150; as well as the closer analysis in Guilleminot 2005, p. 27-29 & 36-37.

[56] For Resch, see Bietenholz & Deutscher, 1985, vol. 3, p. 141-142; Higman, 1998, p. 106; see also Bietenholz, 1971, p. 33-34, 184.

[57] In January 1524 Resch sought the Parlement's permission to print Erasmus' *Paraphrasis in Lucam*, which the Parlement of Paris then submitted for examination to the Faculty of Theology (Farge 1985, p. 177; Rummel 1989, vol. 2, p. 30).

de Basle was transferred to Wechel, who bought Resch's business. Wechel retained all the commercial links with Resch, thus becoming a contact point between the two cities (Bietenholz 1971, p. 33 & 42; cf. also Febvre & Martin 1997, p. 303).

Another close collaborator of Wechel's was Simon du Bois (fl. 1525-1534), one of the main printers supporting the early evangelical circle of Lefèvre d'Etaples, Louis de Berquin (1490-1529), and others, by issuing a number of their works. As Wechel started off as a publisher and bookseller, he regularly employed Simon du Bois for the actual printing (Armstrong 1961, p. 342-343). Du Bois' publications frequently preoccupied the Sorbonne, particularly his edition of Lefèvre d'Etaples's translation of the New Testament as well as his issues of Berquin's translations of some of the more controversial works by Erasmus.[58] The French translation of one of these, *Le livre du vraye et parfaicte oraison* (an adaptation from Luther's *Betbuechlein*), also featured a brief introduction by Guillaume Farel and went on to become 'the most popular book of evangelical piety in France' (Clutton 1937, p. 124 & 127-128; Tricard 1957; Farge 1985, p. 186; Greengrass 1987, p. 13). Whether in order to escape persecution or to establish his business with more freedom elsewhere, Du Bois eventually fled Paris in 1529, a date which coincides with Wechel's more dynamic entry into the printing business (Clutton 1937, p. 124; Higman 1979, p. 34; see also, however, Tricard 1957, p. 19).

These early years of Wechel's activities also coincide with the activities of the scholarly printer, other fellow country man, and associate Gerard Morrhy, a printer almost unknown to scholarship (see Boers 1984).[59] According to Boers (1984), Morrhy's view of the Sorbonne was not the most favorable one, which can be gauged from three pieces of evidence: first, from his 1531 edition of Agrippa von Nettensheim's *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium declamatio*, a book which was condemned on

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[58] These were: *Le symbole des apostres* (from *Inquisitio de fide*), *Brevfe admonition de la manière de prier* (excerpts from the paraphrases on Matthew and Luke), *Declamation des louenges du marriage* (*Encomium matrimonii*), and *La complainte de la paix* (*Querela pacis*).

[59] For a connection between Wechel and Morrhy, see Constantinidou 2022b, p. 308.

account of its Lutheran sympathies (see Rummel 2000, p. 61-67). Second, Morrhy's more immediate sentiments are reflected in a letter to Erasmus of 1532 in which Morrhy reported on the possibility of banishing the reading of Erasmus' *Colloquia* at Paris university. In the letter, Morrhy mocked the theologians of the Sorbonne indicating that they ought first to write something better themselves before they criticize Erasmus (Ep. 2311; Erasmus 2015, p. 289-292). Finally, some more of his anti-Sorbonne sentiments appear in a re-edition of a prognostication, in which Morrhy compares the theologians' canon law with broken cisterns which cannot contain Holy Scripture but for the time being could only hold the she-asses of wisdom.[60]

In Wechel's wider network, therefore, the figure and works of Erasmus dominated. Even though there is no evidence that the two were in direct communication, we know of at least one attempt of the printer to get in touch with the famous author. In fact, Wechel was one of Erasmus' main printers in Paris (especially after 1531), issuing over fifty editions of the humanist's work; in this sense, contact between them is likely. Some of Wechel's most notable issues of Erasmus' works are his irenic *De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia* in 1533, immediately after the Basel *editio princeps*.[61] He also published his edition of John Chrysostom's *De orando Deum*, even after the censure of parts of the humanist's work by the Sorbonne (1526/1531).

Wechel's publishing choices (if we suppose that these were not solely dictated by market demand) could also be taken as evidence of his religious affiliations, even if this cannot be conclusive. Some of these show some reforming tendencies, such as *Le livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison*, mentioned above, even though books by Luther had already been condemned by 1521.[62] Febvre & Martin (1997, p. 303) use this publication of Luther's work as

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[60] Boers 1984, p. 62, suggests that this divergence of opinion may have been the reason behind Morrhy leaving the publishing business and Paris.

[61] Erasmus, *Liber de sarcienda ecclesiae concordia* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1533).

[62] *Le livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison* (Paris: Simon du Bois pour Chrétien Wechel, 1528); *Le livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison* (Paris: Simon du Bois pour Chrétien Wechel, 1529); *Le livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison* (Paris: Jean Kerbriant et Chrétien Wechel, 1530). Cf. Clutton 1937, p. 124 & 127. For the condemnation of Luther's works, see Farge 1985, p. 125-130 & 165-169.

an example of Wechel's attitude, both his cautiousness and his ability to obtain a royal privilege for issuing this apparently inoffensive tract twice, in 1528 and in 1530. Another questionable publication was the *Precationes biblicae* by Otto Brunfels (1488-1534), which Simon du Bois published in 1529 and which Wechel reprinted a year later, after Du Bois' departure.[63] Wechel also printed a second text by Brunfels, *De doctrina et institutione puerorum*, which was censured in 1540. Two editions appeared, one before (1534) and one after the censure (1542).[64] This tract was sometimes paired with another Lutheran text, namely *Christiana studiosae iuventutis institutio* by Christoph Hegendorf (1500-1540), which Wechel also issued in 1529.[65] Hegendorf's piece appears to have been favored by Robert Estienne as well, who printed it nine times between 1527 and 1549 (*FH IV*, p. 33, 51, 73, 81, 103, 113, 121 & 157). The tract was censured in 1540 but was already suspect since 1533.[66] Wechel also published works by Melanchthon, such as his edition of Cicero's *De oratore* (printed by Du Bois, 1526); a Greek grammar;[67] his edition of the Pseudo-Plutarchan *De liberis educandis* (1529, 1536) – as mentioned above – as well as a number of editions of Melanchthon's commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics* (1531, 1535) and *Politics* (1531, 1536). Finally, Wechel also printed Johann Sleidan's Latin translation of Philippe de Commynes' *History of Louis X and Charles VIII* (1545; in collaboration with Jean Roigny). Geneviève Guilleminot (2005, p. 36-37)

[63] Otto Brunfels, *Precationes biblicae sanctorum patrum, illustriumque virorum, et mulierum utriusque testamenti. Quibus accessit calendarium cum aliis haud poenitendis* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1530) and *Precationes biblicae sanctorum patrum illustriumque virorum et mulierum utriusque testamenti* (Paris: Simon du Bois for Chrétien Wechel, 1529).

[64] Otto Brunfels, *Disciplina et institutio puerorum* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1534) and *Disciplina et institutio puerorum* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1542). See Higman 1979, p. 49.

[65] For the pairing, see USTC 203478 and 185712; Christoph Hegendorf, *De instituenda vita, et moribus corrigendis iuventutis, paraeneses* ([Paris]: Chrétien Wechel, 1529).

[66] Cf. Febvre & Martin, 1997, p. 309. Interestingly, however, Jacques Bogard published this book in 1542: *Christiana studiosae iuventutis institutio. De disciplina et institutione puerorum* (Paris: Jacques Bogard, 1542); USTC 116765.

[67] *Grammatica Graeca* (Paris: Pierre Vidoué, Gilles de Gourmont and Chrétien Wechel, 1528).

suggests that after the search ordered by Béda in 1528 – as a direct response to Wechel's publication of Luther's *Le livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison* – Wechel proceeded with added prudence, concealing any lenience toward reforming messages, even if his preferences can be surmised through the authors he chose to print. Apart from questionable Lutheran authors, Wechel also printed François Rabelais' *Pantagruel* in 1546, a year before it was censured by the Sorbonne.[68] Evidently, and as already mentioned, not everyone promoting humanist literature and works associated with the German reformers actually endorsed Lutheran or other reformist ideas – in the same manner that not everyone interested in learning or teaching Greek adopted the Reformation. Yet the *Collège* and its activities were suspected of spreading heterodox views. In this sense, a last point to consider regarding Wechel's connections and publications and his link to the *Collège* is the editorial work and religious affiliation of Jacques Toussain.

4. *Jacques Toussain's Work and Associations*

As mentioned in Section 2, the lecturer was reluctant to put his name on his editions, a fact which could be taken as an attempt to conceal his religious inclinations and to protect himself. Given the changing political and religious context, this was probably prudent, as the following evidence will show. Toussain was familiar with the Church reformer Guillaume Farel, as they studied together in 1517, although it is hard to determine whether this acquaintance had any impact on his religious outlook. More important, however, is the fact that during the persecutions of 1533-1534 he was at the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois together with, among others, François Vatable and Pierre Danès, helping with evangelical preaching (*FH II*, p. 370). This appreciation of evangelical preaching is also referred to in a letter by Oswald Myconius in April 1534 (cited in Beaud-Gambier 1989, p. 340). Meanwhile, scholars have also commented on Toussain's

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[68] Higman 1979, p. 49; Febvre & Martin 1997, p. 307, indicate that this was done with the license of the King, Francis I, who granted Rabelais a privilege for the publication.

friendship with heterodox 'suspects' such as Nicolas Bourbon or Étienne Dolet (Beaud-Gambier 1989, p. 340). In this context, and keeping in mind the difficulty in which the royal lecturers found themselves during the events of 1534, a show of cautiousness was to be expected.

Another indication could be Toussain's teaching. Although his choice of texts to teach and edit was not controversial on the surface, as in the case of Wechel, a consideration of some of his less obvious choices of texts to lecture on may shed some light on his views. Such an example is Thucydides, whose text is generally deemed difficult for the purpose of teaching the language.[69] It is acknowledged that historical texts at the time often served as political commentary and could be used as subversive literature.[70] Likewise, Galen's treatise on healing and Epictetus' manual of Stoic philosophy are perhaps less expected in courses of Greek with respect to their content.[71] If history was a covert means of commenting on the politics of the day, studying the *Encheiridion* was part of a general interest in Stoicism in the sixteenth century, elements of which were attractive to intellectuals promoting forms of religious reconciliation or a morality independent of confessional affiliations (cf. Horowitz 1974; Keohane 1980, esp. ch. 4; Horowitz 1998; Visser 2008). Similarly, it is difficult to ignore the interest in syncretism reflected

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[69] Dionisotti 1983, p. 196-197, also notes the general absence of Greek historians in sixteenth-century curricula and the relative novelty of teaching Thucydides and Herodotus.

[70] Dionisotti 1983, p. 196-199, notes the potential subversiveness Polybius could have and indicates this as the main reason behind Strazeele's edition and teaching the author. The literature on the use of history as political commentary is varied; see indicatively Momigliano 1947; Schellhase 1976; Whitfield 1976; Burke 1991; Osmond 1995; Peltonen 1995; Nelson 2004; Ianziti 2012. See also De Landtsheer 2001.

[71] Irigoin 2006, p. 248-249, notes the unusual nature of these texts for teaching Greek but comments on the richness and variety of texts that Toussain helped disseminate, without discussing, however, why he may have been teaching these. Interestingly, some recent interpretations suggest that Galen's work (esp. his theory of humors) was used by a number of early modern writers as a conceptual tool to argue for the mutual dependency of the various parts of the political body. As a result, these scholars consider this dependency one of the key determinants of domestic balance and harmony against strife and friction (cf. Syros 2013).

in texts which Toussain decided to edit (even if not all of them were printed by Wechel). These include Gemistus Pletho's treatise on the superiority of Plato over Aristotle (*De differentiis*),[72] as well as the *Oracula magica Zoroastris*, also printed with Pletho's commentary.[73] Both these texts belonged to a body of works which were taken by a number of humanists, starting with Marsilio Ficino, as evidence of the existence of a continuum of philosophers and theologians who professed the same (Christian) truth (*prisca theologia*). Humanists such as Guillaume Budé and Joachim Périon also included Philo Judaeus and Justin Martyr in this group of authors as philosophers who compared and merged aspects of Christianity with Judaism and paganism, or appropriated pre-Christian texts in a Christian framework.[74] Toussain had edited works by both of them: whilst working for Josse Bade, he edited the Greek text of *De mundo* attributed to Philo and *Oratio paraenetica ad Gentes* by Justin Martyr whilst lecturing on it.[75] Finally, Toussain was also responsible for a Greek edition of Iamblichus' *Theologoumena arithmeticae*, which carries a dedication from Wechel to Aymar de Ranconnet (1498-1559), a jurist himself interested in mysticism and Neoplatonism, whose views were seen as reformist

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[72] Περὶ ὧν Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαφέρεται (Paris: Esmée Tousan, 1541); *FH II*, p. 489.

[73] Μαγικὰ λόγια τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου μάγων (Paris: Jean Loys, 1538); *FH II*, p. 466-467.

[74] See Justin Martyr, *Opera omnia* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1554), where in the dedicatory letter to Odet de Châtillon, Philo, Justin Martyr, and Synesius Cyrenaeus are listed together with Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodoretus and others: *Deinde ut maiorem in illa librorum numerum fuisse demus, cui dubium est, quin cum in rerum comparatione genus numero sit anteponendum, haec illam longe multumque superatura sit? Complurium quidem philosophorum et medicorum atque mathematicorum scriptis illis fortassis abundavit: sed si in contentionem veniat, utri anteponendi sint, illine, an Theologiae scriptores, quibus scripserunt, affluit, non est obscurum utros anteponere debeamus. In ea autem sunt cum eius generis Graeci innumerabiles, qui nondum prolati sunt in lucem, tum Eusebii Caesariensis Historia Ecclesiastica, De praeparatione et demonstratione Evangelica libri, Sozomenisque et Socratis atque Evagrii ac Theodoriti Historiae Ecclesiasticae, Synesiusque ac Philo et Justinus philosophus ac martyr, qui editi sunt: quorum alii alios iam ad nostrum cognitionem transtulerunt* (as cited in *FH I*, p. 413). Cf. also Armstrong 1954, p. 129.

[75] Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας (Jean Loys for Charlotte Guillard, 1539); *FH II*, p. 472. Cf. Irigoin 2006, p. 249.

by his contemporaries, and/or irenic by modern interpreters.[76] In this dedication, Wechel makes a distinction between practical and divine *arithmetica*, and between Aristotle and Plato.[77] Evidence from Budé also testifies to a search for continuities between antiquity and his own era, as well as subjects such as the integration of pagan culture into Christianity and its role not only in prefiguring but also inspiring and regenerating Christianity (Maillard 1998, p. 30-31). Incidentally, interest in Iamblichus' work was expressed in a similar context of syncretism and mysticism both by John Dee and Conrad Gessner; the latter also knew Wechel's edition, which he noted in his *Bibliotheca*.[78] This gives us a sense of the international aspect of these editions, as scholars in other parts of Europe were aware of, and interested in, the location of manuscripts and Wechel's editions.

Nevertheless, since we are lacking concrete evidence, and until a more thorough analysis of all these parameters is carried out, these indications about either Wechel's or Toussain's religious outlook can only be taken as suggestions. Yet one can easily conceive of both the printer and the lecturer as two like-minded individuals drawn to the prospect of a regeneration of Christianity, through adopting aspects of the reforming messages of Luther and his associates (or indeed the French reformers); the German reformers themselves had been influenced deeply by their studies of Greek sources, after all. Prospects of such regeneration, moreover, were not independent of a turn to what many saw as the basic principles of Christianity and a tendency to find continuity between pre-Christian and Christian texts, which steered clear of more radical and pronounced confessional positions.

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[76] Τὰ θεολογούμενα τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1543); *FH II*, p. 503-505. For Ranconnet's views, see Ernst 2001, p. 41; De Smet 2011, p. 190, and Barral-Baron 2020, p. 70.

[77] '*Utilis itaque est haec arithmetica ad interiorem philosophiam, quam intelligemus iuxta Aristotelem* τὰ μετὰ τὰ φισικὰ [sic] *iuxta Platonem theologiam et physicam, nequid hic dicam nostrae etiam religionis theologos, vetustiores praesertim, ad superstitionem quodammodo, arcanae numerorum indagationi eruendae operam dedisse*' (cited from *FH II*, p. 505).

[78] Josias Simmler, *Bilbiotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero. Deinde in Epitomen redacta* (Zurich: Christoph II Froschauer, 1574). For Dee's interest, see the copy annotated by him in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch H c 7. I owe both these references to Prof. Ann Blair.

Conclusion

Summing up this consideration of Wechel's printing activities and connections, it is clear how a closer analysis of the links between scholars and printers gives us a better insight into a wider network which promoted Greek learning in sixteenth-century Paris. Analyzing the publications of one of the main printers providing the *Collège royal* with textbooks during the first years of its operation gives us a coherent understanding of the choice of texts used for teaching and the approach of the lecturers, in particular by the very influential Toussain. In this respect, a full bibliography of the works published by Wechel, with lists of surviving and annotated copies would be particularly instructive, and is thus a desideratum for future research. Moreover, an examination of the interconnections between scholars, lecturers, printers, and editors will help us get a better grasp of their activities and the collective impact which they had.[79] After all, teaching, translating, editing, printing, and marketing Greek texts were pursuits not conducted in isolation. Their activities succeeded in exposing all those eager to learn to a large corpus of authors and texts. This wider perspective should also include different areas, as there were many connections between the different polyglot institutes, both in their curricula and in their scope and aims. Many of the texts referred to in the discussion above were also printed and used in Louvain at roughly the same time. Some examples among these include multiple editions of Lucian and Chrysostom – Wechel's staple textbooks – printed by Rutgerus Rescius in Louvain for the purposes of instruction (see also Constantinidou 2015, p. 279-280; 2020), as well as the edition and translation of Athenagoras' text on the resurrection of the dead (translated into Latin by Petrus Nannius).[80] Having said that, the significance of the influential figures in this enterprise, such as Lefèvre d'Etaples, Erasmus, Budé, and Toussain, should not be underestimated. Even though each had a slightly

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[79] Evidence from prefaces refers to the role of printers encouraging new editions or translations; see, for instance, Constantinidou 2022b, p. 308.

[80] Cf. Polet 1936, p. 101-103. Athenagoras, Περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν. *De resurrectione mortuorum* (Paris: Chrétien Wechel, 1541); see also the same work printed in Louvain by Bartholomaeus Gravius (1541).

different focus and priority, religious preoccupations were part of their understanding of Greek learning – a fact that was reflected in their circles, and would affect, to different extents, their students as well.

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Abstract

This article discusses the production of Greek books by Chrétien Wechel (1495-1554), one of the most important printers of Greek in sixteenth-century Paris. Wechel was active during the founding years of the *Collège royal*, and provided this institute with textbooks. This paper analyzes Wechel's Greek production with information from bibliographies as well as from his sales catalogues, and discusses their use in teaching. It also treats his publishing relationship with Jacques Toussain (1499?-1547), one of the royal lecturers of Greek, through establishing connections between the professor's teaching

and choice of printers. It also investigates whether we can establish a link between Wechel's involvement in the new learning and any indications of a possible permissive stance toward heterodox beliefs, as it was the perception at the time. Finally, it touches upon Wechel's implication in the Sorbonne hearing of 1533/1534 and examines whether there is any ground for linking his activities as a printer-publisher of (Greek) books to possible heterodox views. The analysis illustrates that even though we lack concrete evidence for such connections, a series of secondary and circumstantial evidence, such as Wechel's publications and networks, suggests an association between Wechel's activities and inclinations toward a religious renaissance and return to the sources. The main aim is to gain better insight into the practices of Greek teaching in the sixteenth century, the wider networks of printers and scholars involved in this endeavor as well as some of the agendas associated with the dissemination of Greek humanism.

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IN RUTGER RESCIUS' CLASSROOM AT THE LEUVEN COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE (1543-1544)

HIS STUDY PROGRAM AND DIDACTIC METHOD*

Introduction

Res nostrae satis pulchre procedunt, nisi quod nostri aegre ferunt Rutgerum Rescium, collegam nostrum, Collegio abesse. Hortatus sum Nicolaum Maruillanum, qui se ait executorum nomine omnia facere, ne praepropere festinet. Citius illi posse contingere alium quam meliorem, et ad hoc munus neminem esse suscipiendum nisi qui apertius specimen eruditionis praebuerit quam noster.[1]

Our business is progressing sufficiently well, except that our people bear with difficulty the fact that Rutger Rescius, our colleague, is absent from the College. I urged Nicolaus Marvillanus [the president of the Collegium Trilingue], who claimed to do everything in the name of the executors, not to act too hastily. And I told him that he could sooner find another professor than a better one, and that nobody has to be taken on for this task, unless someone who would exhibit a plainer specimen of erudition than our colleague.

[1] Allen & Allen 1926, p. 439. Unless otherwise mentioned, all translations in this contribution are my own. Latin quotations have been made uniform and abbreviations have been silently resolved.

Leuven. December 10, 1526. Conrad Goclenius (1490-1539), the first humanist to occupy the Latin chair at the Collegium Trilingue for a considerable amount of time (1519-1539), is writing to Erasmus, then in Basel, and is interceding with him on behalf of his colleague Rutger Rescius (*c.* 1495-1545). The German-born professor was forced to do so, since Rescius, holding the Greek chair at the Trilingue, had recently moved out of the institute in defiance of the will of Hieronymus Busleyden (*c.* 1470-1517), its founder. In his apology of Rescius, Goclenius provides an excellent indication of two antipodal leitmotifs in the Hellenist's life: his erudition as a teacher, on the one hand, and his propensity for getting into trouble, on the other. In the present contribution, even though it will be inevitable to touch on Rescius' capriciousness, I want to focus on his career as a professor of Greek, teasing out a number of issues I was only able to discuss more superficially in other publications, especially his study program and didactic method (see Van Rooy 2017c; 2017e; Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, especially p. 144-145).

1. *Greek in Leuven before Rescius*

To fully appreciate Rescius' contribution to Greek studies in the Low Countries, I should first briefly linger on the situation before October 1515, when Rescius arrived in Leuven.[2] There is some evidence that Greek refugees received stipends to teach the language at the end of the fifteenth century, even if details about these courses are lacking. It is nevertheless certain that their teaching did not exert any substantial impact. At this stage, self-study probably formed the most efficient method to learn the language of ancient Greece. The most notable autodidact was surely Erasmus, who began to teach himself Greek in his 30s. He was able to gain competence in it within a few years (1500-1502), the last of which he spent in Leuven, sheltering from the plague in Paris. It is not inconceivable that Erasmus also taught some Greek to the

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[2] On this topic, see Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 132-133, on which the present section partly draws. On the Renaissance teaching of Greek language and literature more broadly, see e.g. Ciccolella 2008; Botley 2010; Ciccolella & Silvano 2017.

busy professor Jean Desmarais (Latinized: Johannes Paludanus; d. 1526), president of St Donatian's College and Erasmus' host in the Brabantian city during the years 1502-1504. Or perhaps Desmarais was an autodidact like his friend, who might have assisted him by providing handbooks or guidelines. Whatever the case, already in 1506, the Rotterdam humanist praised Desmarais' profound knowledge of the Greek tongue and urged him to translate Greek works into Latin. We do not have any evidence confirming that Desmarais actually did so – might his many academic obligations have prevented him from putting his Greek skills into practice? Or did Erasmus exaggerate Desmarais' competence in his flattery? Another piece of evidence confirming the interest in Greek literature at the outset of the sixteenth century also dates to 1506. The Latin professor from Zeeland Adrianus Barlandus (1486-1538) mentions in one of his dialogues *ad profligendam e scholis barbariem longe utilissimi* ('enormously useful for expelling barbarity from schools') that in Pig College, one of the four colleges of the arts faculty, Euripides' *Hecuba* was staged in September 1506 (see Barlandus 1532, sig. E 7 r). One should nonetheless not conclude that the play was performed in the original Greek. More plausibly, Erasmus' Latin translation, published in Paris that same year, was used to this end.

It was, however, only from 1514 onward that the thirst for Greek could be satisfied through a permanent solution. In that year, a humanist from Soissons, Adrien Amerot (*c.* 1495-1560) initiated his unofficial elementary Greek classes at another arts college, that of the Lily, a lively humanist center with which Jean Desmarais and, through him, Erasmus had close ties. Amerot arrived from Paris, where he had studied Greek with the Italian prodigy Girolamo Aleandro (1480-1542) in the early 1510s, and succeeded in doing what his fellow Hellenist Richard Croke (*c.* 1489-1558) had failed to: establishing a permanent instruction in the Greek tongue.[3] Croke was likewise a former student of Aleandro's and had passed by Leuven sometime between 1511 and 1515, but nothing is known about the Greek courses the Englishman claims to have organized during his time there. Soon a third

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[3] On Aleandro in Paris, see Maillard & Flamand 2010, p. 275-367. On Amerot, see Van Rooy 2020, with further references.

student of Aleandro arrived in Leuven: Rutger Rescius. Together with Amerot and other promising Hellenists, Rescius laid the foundation of Greek studies in the Low Countries, the didactic dimension of which will take center stage in this contribution.

2. *Rutger Rescius (c. 1495-1545) from Maaseik: Versatile Professor-Printer*

The early life of Rutger Rescius is somewhat of a mystery.[4] It is certain that Rescius was born in the Limburgian town of Maaseik, as he is repeatedly labelled in Hellenized fashion *Dryopolitanus*, 'Citizen of Eik'. His exact year of birth remains unknown up to this date – the year 1497, frequently repeated in secondary literature, does not seem to have any sound basis. Nothing is known about Rescius' early education, but he must have done his initial studies in Maaseik and surroundings. However, it is in Paris where we first find him. In the French capital, he took the public Greek courses of Aleandro until the end of 1513, around which time he also graduated bachelor of arts. From this time forward, we can follow the course of Rescius' life largely without any interruptions. After Aleandro left in late 1513, Rescius stayed in Paris and taught some Greek there, likely because the departure of his teacher had left a vacuum. Among his students in Paris was the Westphalian humanist Ludolf Cock (fl. 1508-1532), as Cock himself informs us in one of his letters to Erasmus (Kleineidam & Bietenholz 1985, p. 323). Rescius did, however, not stay long, and in 1514-1515 we find him teaching in Alkmaar at the large college there. It is not unlikely that he found the opportunity to offer elementary Greek courses there as well. His stay was nonetheless short, and by the end of 1515 he was in Leuven to study law. On October 4, 1515, his name was registered in the university's matriculation lists. Simultaneously, his mastery of Greek made him an attractive employee for Thierry Martens (1446/1447-1534), who was experimenting

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[4] Biographical information on Rescius is principally drawn from Roersch 1910, p. 37-55, and de Vocht 1951-1955, passim, esp. vol. I, p. 277-279, 293-294, 470-478; vol. II, p. 7-8, 115-118, 316-334, 621-628; vol. III, p. 104-130, 535-538, 585-594; vol. IV, p. 62-88, 99-100, 224-252. See also Erbe & Bietenholz 1987.

with publications in that language and its ligature-infested writing tradition. Rescius proved himself a meticulous corrector of the Greek texts issued by Martens in his Leuven office. Instead of studying law, Rescius devoted all of his attention to Greek studies. From the start, he also taught the elements of the language, most likely even at Martens' atelier, which began to issue introductory handbooks in early 1516. It is tempting to conclude that Rescius' presence at Martens' business stimulated this output. Moreover, one of the first Greek products of Martens' press was a booklet containing grammatical tables designed by Aleandro, Rescius himself, and the Italian humanist Urbano Bolzanio (1442-1524) (on this booklet, see Van Rooy 2017a). In his dedicatory letter, written on March 8, 1516 at Martens' home, the young humanist explained his reasons to publish the work to his Philhellenic addressee Jean Desmarais. Rescius claimed that his students had insisted he did so, since they had greatly benefitted from these tables, which he dictated to them during his first winter in Leuven. Rescius was probably exaggerating, and his brief grammatical work did not enjoy any reprints, in contrast with the tables of his former teacher Aleandro.

Rescius likely continued to combine his activities as Martens' Greek corrector and his private tutoring of Greek until August 1518, when Erasmus and the executors of Busleyden's will were forced to quickly appoint a professor of Greek in order to ensure the future of the Collegium Trilingue. Their choice fell on Rescius, even though they would have preferred a more experienced teacher such as the Greek migrant Janus Lascaris (1445-1535). The means of Busleyden's foundation, however, impeded this, as these were reduced considerably by financial setbacks. Most notably, the executors were forced to construe a new building to house the college. Allegedly, the Hoorn-born humanist Jacobus Ceratinus (d. 1530), at first a candidate for the Greek chair himself, tutored young Rescius during his first years at the Three Language College (de Vocht 1951-1955, p. 504-505, in particular n. 4 on p. 504).

Rescius' appointment in the summer of 1518 constituted a major turning point in his life. He gradually made himself into an excellent Hellenist and evolved into a much-appreciated teacher, well-known for his optimism – his motto was *Ne simus miseri ante*

tempus! ('Let us not be miserable prematurely!'). That was only one side of his character, however. The Maaseik humanist also proved himself an *enfant terrible*, causing many problems to the Collegium Trilingue, ultimately to Erasmus' great regret. Let me provide a bullet-point overview of Rescius' *cursus dedecorum*:

- December 1519: Rescius spent some time in jail because of an alleged nightly assault on the rector. According to Erasmus, this was orchestrated by conservative theologians who despised Erasmus' humanist project and its embodiment, the Collegium Trilingue. Erasmus intervened, succeeded in freeing Rescius, and even secured a raise for his protégé.

- 1525: Rescius married and moved out of the Collegium Trilingue, in defiance of Busleyden's will. His colleagues complained about his absence and his wife's negative influence on his teaching, but Goclenius defended him.

- 1527: Rescius flirted with an offer from Paris to become professor at a *Collège royal* to be founded (eventually established in 1530; see Constantinidou in this volume).

- 1529: Rescius grasped Thierry Martens' retirement as an opportunity to fill the lacuna left by his former employer in the printing market. He took the promising humanist Johannes Sturmius (1507-1589) as his first business associate and started publishing in the same year, primarily Greek texts. Rescius' colleagues denounced this professional accumulation. It did, however, earn him the title of *alter apud Belgas Manutius* ('second Manutius among the Belgians') in the early historiographical account of the Collegium Trilingue by Valerius Andreas (1588-1655), professor of Hebrew (Andreas 1614, p. 66).

- 1536: Rescius started lecturing on a Greek juridical text he had published, which created troubles for him and the Trilingue, since this subject was the prerogative of the law faculty.

- 1539: Rescius temporarily stole the inheritance of the late president of the Collegium Trilingue, Conrad Goclenius, who had defended him during his lifetime.

This list could still be augmented, as Rescius regularly sued relatives, business partners, and even some of his so-called friends.

It was financial gain which principally drove him in all of these rather questionable undertakings. Tellingly, after the episode with the Greek juridical text, Erasmus complained in his last extant letter, dated June 28, 1536 and addressed to Conrad Goclenius, that Rescius 'is entirely focused on gain and gravely damages that College'. It is worthwhile to quote Erasmus' complaint in its entirety, as it reveals his view on the texts the professor of Greek should read instead:

> *Quid necese fuit, Rutgerum interpretari Graecas Institutiones e Latino uersas? Conducibilius erat interpretari Demosthenen, Lucianum, si quid habet casti, tragoedias grauibus sententiis refertas, ac similes autores, unde discitur Graeci sermonis elegantia. Sed ille totus ad quaestum spectat, et grauiter perdit istud Collegium.* (Allen & al. 1947, p. 337-338)

> Why was it necessary for Rutger to lecture on the Greek *Institutes* translated from Latin? It would have been more advantageous to lecture on Demosthenes, Lucian – whatever there is chaste in him – the tragedies replete with serious sayings, and similar authors, from whom the elegance of Greek speech is learned. Yet he is entirely focused on gain and gravely damages that College.

Erasmus would have preferred that his former protégé taught the approved ancient authors rather than a Byzantine translation of Justinian's Latin *Institutes*, hastily printed by Rescius in an attempt at selling as many copies as he could. The Hellenist kept on printing and professing until his death in early October 1545, at which time he was lecturing on some satirical dialogues of Lucian, perhaps finally following the advice of Erasmus.[5] The courses on Lucian were completed by professor ad interim Adrien Amerot, later officially appointed as Rescius' successor.

Thus far, scholars have been fascinated with the less flattering side of Rescius' life. As a result, a thorough, unbiased study of the humanist's activities as a professor and printer of Greek still remains to be conducted. In this light, it is a great pity that Lucien Daubersy's research on Rescius, carried out in the 1920s

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[5] Rescius' Greek output decreased, however, toward the end of his life, because this specialization was not economically viable. See Constantinidou 2015, p. 280.

and repeatedly announced in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, never reached print and seems to be irrevocably lost. In the remainder of this paper, I will focus on Rescius as professor in an attempt to offer a first preliminary assessment of his Greek study program and teaching method.

3. *Rescius' Study Program:*
Pagan Classics with a Topping of Early Christian Texts

Which texts did Rescius read with his students in Leuven? No complete course list has been preserved or reconstructed thus far. Relying on the available source material known to me, I have been able to piece together a highly fragmentary picture, summarized in Table 1, which further research will no doubt be able to complete. Dark gray marks an uncertain lecture, whereas light gray indicates a planned but largely unrealized course.

TABLE 1
Fragmentary reconstruction of Rescius' lectures

When?	What author?	Which text?	Evidence?
1528	Xenophon	*Oeconomicus, Cyropaedia, Hiero*	Rescius in Xenophon 1529, sig. A ii r[6]
1529	Xenophon	*Memorabilia* (edition by Rescius)	
1532	Basil the Great	*Homily to youngsters on the utility to be had from the books of pagan authors* (edition by Rescius)	Rescius in Olahus 1875, p. 200[7]

[6] *Porro quod ex tanto autorum numero Xenophontis ἀπομνημονεύματα in primis et excudenda et praelegenda susceperimus, in causa est, partim quod superiori anno cum eius οἰκονομικὸν λόγον, Κύρου παιδείαν et Ἱέρωνα enarraremus, experti simus hunc ipsum nostris auditoribus non displicere.*

[7] *Mitto tibi Basilii ὁμιλίαν non illepidam, quam rogatu D. Erasmi breui sum hic publice praelecturus.* In this letter from late February 1532, Rescius is reporting to Nicolaus Olahus that Erasmus had asked him to lecture on Basil's homily; Rescius' edition of this text, dated April 27, 1532 in the colophon, must already have been finished two months earlier, as it accompanied his letter to Olahus. Later that year, Rescius printed two other homilies of Basil (May and September 1532). In 1537 and 1538, he published Petrus Nannius' Latin translation of some of Basil's works.

When?	What author?	Which text?	Evidence?
July 1533 - c. July 1534	Homer	entire(?) *Odyssey* & *Iliad*	Rescius in Olahus 1875, p. 389 [8]
1535	Homer	*Iliad*	Course notes(?) of Albert Hardenberg? [9]
1536	Theophilus Antecessor	Greek translation of Justinian's *Institutes* (edition by Rescius)	Erasmus in Allen & al., 1946, p. 338 (see Section 2)
From October 23, 1543	Homer	*Odyssey* (edition by Rescius)	Course notes of Johannes Aegidius (see Section 4) [10]
1545	Lucian	Satirical dialogues (edition likely by Rescius) → finished by Adrien Amerot	Amerot's oration as interim professor, in Van Rooy 2017d, p. 334 [11]

This list can no doubt be augmented by tracing all extant copies of Greek editions produced or known to have circulated in Leuven and checking them for course notes. Such a study, highly time-consuming even in the digital age, does not lie within the scope of the present contribution.[12] Just to give an indication:

[8] *Auspicati sumus proximis diebus Odysseam praelegere publice in collegio, extraordinarie breui incipiemus interpretari Iliadem; si Deus nobis parcerit spero, quod intra annum utrumque opus praelegendo ad finem perducemus.*

[9] See a copy of Thierry Martens' *Iliad* edition of 1521(?)-1523, now preserved in Ghent, University Library, BHSL.RES.0143, on which see Van Rooy 2017b.

[10] See a copy of Rescius' *Odyssey* edition of 1535, now preserved in Ghent, University Library, BIB.CL.00451, on which see already Van Rooy 2017c; 2017e; Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, especially p. 144-145.

[11] *Nunquam suspicatus sum fore, auditores undiquaque doctissimi, ut illos Luciani dialogos, quibus iam proximis hisce diebus nostrum studium una uobiscum impendimus, ego finem ac colophonem imponerem; at spes mihi semper fuit, nec ea tenuis, eum qui hos cum magna laude sua, ac uestro omnium fructu incoepisset, nimirum Dominum Rutgherum Rescium, eruditissimum ac lectissimum uirum, eosdem etiam non minori utilitate ac gloria sui nominis, absoluturum.* For the most recent edition of this oration, accompanied by a Dutch translation, see Van Rooy 2017d.

[12] Xander Feys and I are currently tracing all extant copies of the 1535 Homer edition by Rescius, a search which has already uncovered several other copies bearing manuscript notes, to be analyzed in the years to come to see

USTC lists 145 Greek editions published in Leuven alone during Rescius' lifetime. Often dozens of copies of each edition are extant according to USTC, not entirely complete itself.[13] Since all of these 145 editions were printed either by Thierry Martens or Rescius himself, it is reasonable to assume that Rescius had a hand in the production of the majority of them, if not all – a most impressive feat indeed, even though he often largely copied available editions issued in other humanist centers such as Venice, Basel, and Paris. Additionally, many of Martens' and Rescius' publications were no doubt catering to the needs of students of Greek in Leuven and surroundings, especially those following the Greek curriculum at the Collegium Trilingue.[14]

Table 1 demonstrates that pagan texts clearly predominated. Rescius preferred famed ancient authors and star poet Homer in particular. There is only one exception: a homily of the Cappadocian bishop Basil the Great. It is, however, to be noted that this text is in fact a plea in favor of reading non-Christian works addressed to Christian youngsters. Why did pagan texts predominate? Is it because Rescius wanted to avoid problems with the faculty of theology, which enjoyed the prerogative to teach Christian texts? The Theophilus episode with the faculty of law certainly suggests that this might have been the case (see especially de Vocht, 1951-1955, vol. 3, p. 125-130). Moreover, the relationship with the Leuven theologians was already precarious as it was. However, the professor of Hebrew was allowed to read the Bible with his students, as long as he limited himself to explaining the Old Testament grammatically, rather than insisting on its theological contents.[15]

whether it concerns student annotations. A preliminary investigation suggests that there are copies bearing course notes taken during the same class which Aegidius attended, to be analyzed at greater length in Xander Feys' PhD dissertation.

[13] The search in the USTC was conducted on June 17, 2020.

[14] In Paris, a similar printing-teaching connection existed in the context of the *Collège royal*. See e.g. the case of Chrétien Wechel, discussed by Natasha Constantinidou in this volume.

[15] See the ongoing research of Maxime Maleux on the teaching of Hebrew at the Collegium Trilingue in the sixteenth century (first results in Maleux accepted). Cf. also the ideas of Melanchthon discussed by Keen in this volume.

It might seem strange that at an institute which Erasmus envisaged to lead to a better comprehension of the New Testament and to a purer form of Christianity, the New Testament was apparently not read in its source language, or at least not very frequently. Why was this the case? It is likely that the answer principally lies in the Greek pedagogical tradition. In Byzantium, too, the curricular focus had been on approved pagan texts, a practice taken over by early Renaissance humanists on the Italian peninsula (see Wilson 2017, p. 179). From the late fifteenth century onward, Greek studies crossed the Alps and the Italo-Byzantine textual canon used in teaching Greek went with it. Contrary to Italian practice, however, and in line with Byzantine tradition, the star of Early Christian authors was apparently rising again. Not only did Rescius lecture on a homily of Basil the Great, but it is likely that he also devoted courses to other Early Christian authors, whose work he printed rather frequently. There is additional evidence in favor of the popularity of these writers in the Southern Low Countries. For instance, Petrus Nannius (1496-1557) from Alkmaar, Latin professor at the Trilingue, translated numerous Christian treatises into Latin, and several Leuven alumni, including Johannes Lievens (1546/1547-1599) from Dendermonde, contributed to the study of Early Christian Greek authors by editing and translating their works.[16]

As reading pagan classics could endanger the purity of the Christian faith, it was important that professors focused on approved authors. This concern was also adopted from the practice of Italian humanists and their Byzantine teachers. That this was a constant concern is proven by several pieces of evidence for the Greek curriculum at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue. As I have mentioned above (Section 2), Erasmus wrote in 1536 to Goclenius that he disapproved of Rescius' choice of text and that he would rather have him focus on approved authors such as Demosthenes and the morally pure parts of Lucian's work than on a Byzantine Greek translation of a Latin juridical work. This concern went much further back, however, and had already been voiced by the founder of the Trilingue, Hieronymus Bus-

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[16] On Nannius, see the contribution by Feys in this volume.

leyden. Indeed, in his will, Busleyden had insisted that the three professors read 'Christian as well as moral and other approved authors'.[17]

Rescius' selection of texts was, in sum, determined by a variety of circumstances. Apart from availability, the influence of the Byzantine curriculum through Italian humanism seems to have been a major factor. Yet there were other, more contingent motivations as well. For example, Rescius often followed the lead of people in his environment. His decision to continue lecturing on Xenophon was determined by his students, who had taken a liking to this author, as Rescius himself explained. Similarly, it was at the instigation of Erasmus that he chose to lecture on a homily of Basil the Great. Rescius' unquenchable thirst for financial gain played a role as well. He thought printing Theophilus' *Institutes* and lecturing on it meant quick money, even though this move did not turn out well for him. His personal taste, finally, seems to have been a factor as well; the available evidence suggests that he was very fond of reading Homer with his students. In fact, the majority of student notes of which we can currently be absolutely certain that they were taken during the Greek classes at the Collegium Trilingue, reflect a series of lectures by Rescius on Homer's *Odyssey* in 1543.[18] The remainder of this contribution will be primarily devoted to exploring one notable corpus of notes, crucially important for the early history of Greek studies in the Southern Low Countries, in general, and Leuven, in particular.

[17] See the edition in de Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 1, p. 27: *Tres autem aliae bursae pro tribus praeceptoribus, uiris undecumque eruditis, probatis moribus et uitae inculpatae statuentur; qui indies legant et profiteantur publice in eodem collegio tam Christianos quam morales ac alios probatos auctores omnibus eo aduentantibus, in tribus linguis, Latina scilicet, Graeca et Hebraica, diuersis horis pro sua et auditorii commoditate distribuendis* [...].

[18] This state of affairs is likely to change soon, as Xander Feys and I are currently investigating and identifying possible other corpora of student notes from the Trilingue's Greek classes, including editions by Martens and Rescius of Xenophon and Theocritus.

4. *Rescius' Didactic Method: a Tentative Reconstruction*

What did Rescius' courses on Greek authors typically look like? That is the question I want to address here by relying on a first exploration of the abovementioned student notes. This analysis will be supplemented by other evidence, principally from the practice of later professors of Greek at the Collegium Trilingue, in order to arrive at a tentative reconstruction of the Greek teaching practices at this institute.

Rescius started his courses on Homer's *Odyssey* on October 23, 1543. This date is clearly stated by the Trilingue student Johannes Aegidius, probably the Latinized alias of a certain Jan Gillis, in his copy of the 1535 Homer edition Rescius produced with his business associate Bartholomaeus Gravius (d. 1578): *Sum Johannis Aegidii. Anno 1543 incepit dominus Rutgerus Rescius 23 Octobris Louanii* ('I belong to Johannes Aegidius. In the year 1543, master Rutger Rescius started on October 23 in Leuven').[19] The text is annotated until about the middle of book γ, the third book. There are no indications as to how much time Rescius needed to reach this point of the text. If he read by approximately the same pace as Theodoricus Langius (d. 1578), the third professor of Greek at the Trilingue, this must have taken a little over sixty lectures.[20] It is unknown what happened afterward: did Aegidius stop attending Rescius' courses? Or did Rescius not succeed in reading the *Odyssey* in its entirety? Whatever the case, the available data suggest that the plans he had ten years ear-

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[19] See Table 1 for the exact reference to Aegidius' copy of the book. Research for this contribution was finished before the platform DaLeT (Database of the Leuven Trilingue) was launched in May 2021, where Aegidius' annotations are all edited and granted separate IDs (Feys & Van Rooy 2022), and where images of the annotations can moreover be consulted. I refer to the relevant DaLeT ID numbers throughout this section; the provenance note is DaLeT ID 7. After completing this contribution, Xander Feys and I also found two copies of the 1535 Homer edition which contain parallel notes reflecting the same course which Aegidius attended and thus provide invaluable comparative material. Xander Feys will discuss these parallel sets in greater detail in the context of his PhD research (cf. note 12 above).

[20] Langius is said to have read about twenty verses of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* per lecture in 1551, when he was apparently substituting Adrien Amerot, who held the Greek chair at that time. See Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 138.

lier, namely to read the entire *Odyssey* and *Iliad* within one year, must have been rather ambitious.[21] It may be noted here as well that some passages are not annotated. Perhaps the student was absent or distracted. Or did Rescius not explain every passage? Or at least not always thoroughly?

Based on Aegidius' notes and other supplementary evidence, the following overall structure can be reconstructed for the Greek course cycles at the Collegium Trilingue, and in particular those organized by Rescius:

1. Introductory oration
2. Latin summary of text portion to be read
3. Reading aloud of original Greek text
4. Latin word-for-word translation
5. Latin paraphrase
6. Explanation of names, persons, proverbs, grammatical difficulties, literary parallels, etc.
7. Concluding oration

This method is usually called *interpretatio* in Latin – Rescius himself referred to his lectures by means of the Latin verbs *interpretari*, 'to explain', and *praelegere*, 'to lecture on' (see Table 1 and the footnotes there). I will now demonstrate each of these seven different steps by means of Aegidius' notes, whenever possible. In cases where this is impossible, I will draw on other evidence from the Greek courses at the Collegium Trilingue in the sixteenth century.

Rescius probably started every new cycle of courses with an oration in which he introduced the author and the work he was about to read. Ultimately, this was probably modelled to a certain extent on an ancient scheme used by commentators, especially of Aristotle, according to which one should discuss (1) the intention of the author, (2) the utility of the work, (3) the way in which the work is organized, (4) the meaning of the work's title, (5) the authenticity of the work, and (6) the division into

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[21] See Table 1 above and the note accompanying the Homer lectures of 1533-1534.

chapters (see Kupreeva 2010, p. 259). Rescius did not, however, rely directly on this late antique tradition, but most likely took it over from his own professors of Greek, including Girolamo Aleandro. Indeed, the practice was widespread in the Italian Renaissance as well and was probably an import product of Byzantine migrants arriving on the peninsula. The Constantinopolitan humanist John Argyropoulos (*c.* 1415-1487), for instance, operated with a similar scheme in his courses on Italian soil (see Wilson 2017, p. 101). No introductory oration of Rescius has, however, been preserved. So why do I argue that Rescius must have presented such orations before reading Greek authors? There are several reasons to do so. To begin with, Aegidius' notes seem to contain a trace of such an oration. Most importantly, Aegidius was interested in what Rescius had to say on the utility of Homer's work for a Christian: *Diuus Basilius Magnus dicit totum opus Homeri nihil aliud esse quam laudem uirtutis, unde etiam a Christianis legendum* ('The godly Basil the Great says that the entire work of Homer is nothing else than a praise of virtue, which is why it is to be read also by Christians').[22] This note appears right before the beginning of the first book, and its placement suggests that the remark was part of Rescius' introductory oration. Other, more indirect evidence suggesting that Rescius was used to hold such orations, is that his successor and former fellow-student Adrien Amerot did so as well. His very first oration as interim professor has been preserved, but it is a somewhat atypical representative of the genre, as Amerot held it in unforeseen circumstances, shortly after the premature death of Rescius (see Van Rooy 2017d). The Frisian Trilingue student Suffridus Petri (1527-1597) produced orations that seem to be more typical introductory speeches, when he was substitute professor at the college in 1575. They follow the scheme eventually going back to Aristotle's late antique commentators.[23] Rescius' Latin colleague Petrus Nannius also

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[22] DaLeT ID 21. See Basil the Great, *De legendis gentilium libris* 5.26-27: πᾶσα μὲν ἡ ποίησις τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἀρετῆς ἐστιν ἔπαινος.

[23] See Janssen 2017a, especially p. 359, and 2017b, with references to the original manuscripts, still unedited, as well as Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 142.

held such introductory orations (*praefationes*), some of which the Greek professor printed in 1541.[24]

After the introductory oration, Rescius began explaining the Greek text, likely by means of the five steps outlined above (2. to 6.), which he repeated until the end of the course series. It is not improbable that he first summarized the portion of Greek text he was about to read in Latin. There are, however, no traces of this didactic step in Aegidius' notes, but Suffridus Petri informs us that he did so in one of his introductory orations from the 1560s, held in Leuven at the faculty of medicine and preceding a course on Lucian's *Fugitiui* (Δραπέται): 'Firstly, I briefly explain and put forward the meaning of every section of text' (translation cited from Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 145). It is also reasonable to suppose that Rescius then proceeded by reading aloud the original Greek text; again I can cite Petri's oration as indirect evidence of this step: 'After that, I recite the same section once in both pronunciations, namely the Erasmian and the vernacular one, although I will use the vernacular one in teaching' (translation cited from Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 145). In 1543, Rescius likely limited himself to the vernacular pronunciation, at that time the standard way of pronouncing Greek, as the Erasmian pronunciation still needed to take root in actual practice. Petri's account suggests that for him, too, the vernacular mode was still the normal procedure, as he also used it in his explanations. Using Erasmian pronunciation thus seems to have constituted more of a demonstration than a much-used practice for Petri.

Whatever the case, there are sufficient reasons to believe that Rescius employed the vernacular mode of pronouncing, as iotacistic mistakes are abundantly found in Aegidius' notes. For instance, when explaining the first verse of the first book of the *Odyssey*, Rescius must have mentioned an alternative epithet for the protagonist. In the right-hand margin, Aegidius noted: *In Odyssea frequenter uocat* πολύμιτην, *multiplici rerum cognitione* ('In the *Odyssey* he frequently calls him "of many counsels"'; DaLeT ID 26). The eta and the jota have been mistakenly switched

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[24] See Petrus Nannius' *Orationes tres* (Leuven: Rutger Rescius, 1541), originally pronounced as introductions to courses on Vergil's *Georgica*, Cicero's *Orator*, and Livy's historiographical work.

by Aegidius, the correct spelling of the adjective being πολύμητις. Other evidence also suggests that the vernacular pronunciation was common in Leuven during the early decades of the sixteenth century. In the Greek grammar of Rescius' friend Nicolaus Clenardus (1493/1494/1495-1542), for instance, the name of the letter beta <β> is offered as *vita*, suggesting that Clenardus practiced the vernacular pronunciation (Clenardus 1530, p. 3). However, in 1520, Rescius' colleague Amerot (1520, sig. b i r) seems to have already propounded a mode of pronouncing similar to Erasmus' reconstruction, transcribing that very same letter as *beta*. The question of pronunciation, therefore, has to remain open for now, requiring closer investigation. Even so, the evidence and scholarship currently available suggest that the vernacular pronunciation prevailed in Leuven during the first half of the sixteenth century.

Less controversial is the next step, for which there is plenty of evidence in Aegidius' notes and which is a key characteristic of the Renaissance teaching of Greek texts. The reading aloud of the original Greek text was presumably followed by a Latin word-for-word translation offered by Rescius. Many of Aegidius' notes, especially the interlinear ones, are verbatim Latin renderings of the original Greek. The first five lines are annotated as follows, with the interlinear notes – emphasized by italics here – written above the words they concern:

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε μοῦσα πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
errauit   *depopulatus est*
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε.
                                      mentem, sensum, hoc est mores
πολλῶν δ᾿ ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω.
                                κακα   *in animo suo*
πολλά δ᾿ ὅ γ᾿ ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα, ὃν κατὰ θυμὸν,
σοζων   *suam*   *reditum*
ἀρνύμενος, ἥν τε ψυχὴν, καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.[25]

Johannes Aegidius only seems to have written down the Latin translations of difficult and uncommon words and word forms, perhaps indicating that he was already an advanced student with

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[25] See DaLeT IDs 27, 30, 32-37.

a broad knowledge of the Greek lexicon. However, the mistakes made against Greek orthography, to which I will come back soon, seem to suggest otherwise.

The Latin verbatim translation Rescius offered to his students went hand in hand with a paraphrase of the original Greek text – usually in Latin, but sometimes also in Greek – indicating that Rescius had great confidence in the linguistic skills of his audience. Rescius' paraphrasing is sometimes not easily distinguishable from his word-for-word renderings. The Greek word νόον, 'mind', for instance, must have been explained by Rescius as *mentem, sensum, hoc est mores*, likely in one and the same breath. Two examples of cases where Rescius must have provided a Greek synonym, rather than a Latin translation or paraphrase, can be found in the annotations to the five verses cited above: the accusative neuter plural noun ἄλγεα in verse 4 was explained by Rescius as κακά in the same case, gender, and number. In a similar vein, he must have paraphrased the nominative masculine singular participle ἀρνύμενος as σῴζων. Here, Aegidius proved himself to be rather inexperienced in matters of Greek accentuation and orthography, writing κακα and σοζων, respectively.

A large part of Aegidius' notes, however, occupy the margins and are of a different nature, as they are explanatory remarks with varying contents. Let me provide a brief overview of the kinds of annotations found, mainly but not solely based on those accompanying the first five verses, which are more or less representative for the entire corpus of notes. Some annotations are grammatical, containing morphological analyses of mostly uncommon or irregular forms. The verb form πλάγχθη in the second verse, for instance, is commented upon as follows: *Pro* ἐπλάγχθη ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάζομαι γ *interposito pro pleonasmo* ('Instead of ἐπλάγχθη from the verb πλάζομαι, with the gamma interposed according to pleonasm'; DaLeT ID 28). This is a quite dense explanation, the understanding of which requires some insight into the history of the Greek grammatical tradition. Rescius alluded to two formal features deviating from common Greek. On the one hand, the augment marking past tenses is absent, generally viewed as a characteristic of poetical language by Greek and Renaissance grammarians. Amerot (1520, sig. Q iv r) observed in his grammar, for instance, that *Iones ab omnibus*

praeteritis auferunt augmentum, itidem et poetae, ut τύπτε ἄκουσε
δέχθαι ἔδεκτο *pro* ἔτυπτε ἤκουσε δεδέχθαι ἐδέδεκτο ('The Ionians
take away the augment from all past tenses, just like the poets,
as in τύπτε ἄκουσε δέχθαι ἔδεκτο instead of ἔτυπτε ἤκουσε δεδέχθαι
ἐδέδεκτο'). On the other hand, Rescius mentioned that the
aorist of πλάζομαι, 'to wander', takes on an extra letter vis-à-vis
the present tense stem. This letter, the gamma, is integrated into
the middle of the stem, a transformation known as pleonasm,
one of the numerous word modification processes – πάθη in
Greek – believed to be typical of the Greek language with its
many different forms.[26]

In general, Rescius seems to have devoted much attention
to the differences between classical and Homeric Greek. Most
remarkably, Aegidius has struck out in many instances letters
and syllables to visualize what the expected classical Greek form
would be. One of the first examples of this practice is in verse 22,
where the epsilon in the epic-Ionic participle form ἐόντας, from
the verb εἰμί, is struck out to indicate that the expected classical
form would be ὄντας (DaLeT ID 91). In other words, Rescius
seems to have encouraged a kind of normative stance vis-à-vis
Greek, promoting classical Greek – basically the koine with Attic
and Ionic elements – as the reference variety. This intriguing
feature of Aegidius' annotations deserves further study, among
other things, to investigate how this is related to the ongoing
standardization of vernacular tongues in Renaissance Europe and
a growing attention for linguistic correctness, or alternatively
whether this reflects an active teaching of classical Greek.

Other remarks concern the precise meaning of specific Greek
words, especially those that are key to the Homeric narrative.
Rescius commented at length on the epithets used to describe
Odysseus, for example πολύτροπον, here in the accusative singu-
lar (DaLeT ID 26). It is translated and paraphrased in Latin as
prudentem, multi consilii, uersatilibus moribus, also in the accu-
sative singular. Rescius was, however, aware that the word could
have negative connotations, which can be rendered in Latin by
means of the adjectives *dolosus*, 'cunning, deceitful', and *versipel-*

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[26] On Greek pathology, see e.g. Wackernagel 1979 [1876], Siebenborn 1976,
p. 150, and Lallot 1995, especially p. 118.

lis, 'sly, cunning'. The Greek professor rounded off his remarks on the word πολύτροπος by mentioning a synonym frequently used by Homer to render this same meaning: πολύμητις.

Etymological explanations are likewise abundantly represented among Aegidius' notes and are mostly taken from Byzantine sources. An interesting case concerns the word φάρμακον, which appears in book α, verse 261 of modern editions, and which has the contradictory meanings of both 'medicine' and 'poison'. On this word, Rescius must have said, perhaps following the Byzantine scholia on Homer's *Odyssey*, that in its positive sense it derives from φέρων ἄκος, 'bringing remedy', whereas in its negative sense its etymology is φέρων ἄχος, 'bringing pain'.[27] Rescius must also have commented on the structure of the *Odyssey*, as Aegidius clearly marked where the narrative part (*NARRATIO*) starts after the invocation of the muse in the first ten verses (DaLeT ID 55).

So-called *Realien* likewise received attention. For example, Rescius' *Odyssey* edition of 1535 has a synopsis precede each book of the epic poem. In the first summary, the Greek city of Pylos is mentioned, which Rescius tried to situate geographically for his audience by relying on Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. Appearing in the accusative singular in the Greek text, the city received the following note: *urbem Messaniae quae est in mediterranio Achaiae ut dicit Plinius* ('a city in Messenia, which

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[27] *Interpres dicit quod in bonam partem accipitur dictum quasi* φερων ἄκος, *quando in malam quasi* φερων ἄχος. See DaLeT ID 554. Rescius probably referred to the *Scholia in Odysseam (libri α-β)* on 2.329: φάρμακα] φάρμακον φέρακόν τι ὄν, παρὰ τὸ φέρειν ἄκος. Yet it remains to be seen whom Aegidius actually meant by the designation *interpres*, but it seems that it refers to a corpus of scholia which Rescius used and which was mistakenly attributed to the ancient philologist Didymus Chalcenterus (*c.* 63 ʙᴄ-*c.* ᴀᴅ 10) in the early sixteenth century. The Didymus scholia were first published in 1517 (Rome), an edition containing, however, only the *Iliad* commentary; later editions including the *Odyssey* scholia appeared in 1521 (Venice), 1528 (Venice), 1530 (Paris), and 1535 (Basel). Information on the etymology of φάρμακον is also found in Orion, *Etymologicum (excerpta e cod. Darmstadino 2773)* φ.616, *Etymologicum magnum*, Kalli-erges p. 787, *Scholia in Iliadem (scholia uetera et recentiora e cod. Geneuensi gr. 44)* on 4.190-191. See especially also Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon* φ.1798, *sub uoce* φάρμακον: παρὰ τὸ φέρειν ἄκος, φέρακον τὶ ὄν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ, παρὰ τὸ φέρειν ἄχος. The titles of the Greek works cited here are those included in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database, available at <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/> [last accessed June 17, 2020]. I also quote from, and refer to, the editions used by this database.

is in the interior part of Achaea, as Pliny says'; DaLeT ID 17). Rescius must have been citing from memory, as his remark seems to be a distorted version of a passage in Pliny's *Natural History*.[28] It is moreover odd that Pylos is situated in the inland, as it is in fact a town that is nowadays on the Mediterranean coast and was not far removed from it in antiquity. Perhaps the double meaning of Latin *mediterraneus*, 'inland' and 'Mediterranean', caused this confusion. Such *Realien* are usually explained with reference to ancient sources, both Latin and Greek texts. For a matter of mythological genealogy, for instance, Rescius must have referred to Hesiod's *Theogony*.[29] Additionally, literary parallels are noted by Aegidius. Virgil, who modelled his epic poem on Homer's work, is repeatedly referred to by Rescius. Passages which the Latin poet has imitated closely are noted in particular.[30] This can be viewed as the practical application of the initial humanist impetus to study Greek literature: to better understand its Latin counterpart largely modelled on it. Parallels in Erasmus' *Adagia* are occasionally also noted at gnomic verses featuring in the *Odyssey* (e.g. already on sig. A ii r; DaLeT ID 44), tellingly revealing that the Trilingue's intellectual founder had become an integral part of the institute's curriculum. As a final type of notes, I can mention textual corrections; even though Rescius was using his own edition of the *Odyssey*, he found a number of incorrect forms and typographical errors which needed to be emended. One example of this is a note on the verb form ἐβούλοντο, 'they wanted', about which Rescius must have confessed that βούλοντο *uidetur esse legendum* ('βούλοντο should apparently be read'), an emenda-

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[28] Rescius was likely thinking of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* 4.14: *ipsa Elis in mediterraneo et a Pylo XIII intus delubrum Olympii Iouis, ludorum claritate fastos Graeciae complexum, Pisaeorum quondam oppidum, praefluente Alpheo amne*. The quote is taken from Brepols' Latin databases, consultable through <http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/pages/Search.aspx> [last accessed June 17, 2020].

[29] A note on sig. B i v reads (DaLeT ID 519): *Hesiodus in Theogonia dicit esse Taumantis et Oceani filias ab ἁρπάζω dictae* [*sic*].

[30] See e.g. on sig. A ii r the note *Vergilius uertit uenturos olim uoluentibus annis* accompanying the Greek phrase περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν (DaLeT ID 68). See also sig. B ii r which has the note *Libro 6. Vergilius hunc locum imitatus est* in the right-hand margin next to the Greek verse δουλιχίῳ τε, Σάμη τε, καὶ ὑλήεντι Ζακύνθῳ (DaLeT ID 533).

tion necessary to make the verse in question metrically correct (see sig. B i v; DaLeT ID 508).

Finally, it is possible that Rescius held a concluding oration at the end of each cycle of classes. Even though no such orations have been preserved for the Greek courses at the Collegium Trilingue, Rescius' successor Adrien Amerot did announce in his introductory oration that he aimed to do so after reading a short declamation by the sophist Libanius with his students in the fall of 1545. It is, however, unknown whether Amerot lived up to this promise (see Van Rooy 2017d).

By Way of Conclusion:
an Assessment of Rescius' Course

How exceptional – or ordinary – was Rutger Rescius' approach? The Maaseik Hellenist seems to have adopted the conventional structure for lecturing on Greek authors as it had been developed in Quattrocento Italy, where Byzantine teachers adapted their traditional scheme to the needs of their Western students. The most important change that took place in Italy was the use of Latin as the didactic metalanguage instead of Greek, used in the Byzantine curriculum. It is not unlikely that Rescius imitated the didactic approach of Girolamo Aleandro, his teacher in Paris, or perhaps of Jacobus Ceratinus, his alleged tutor in Leuven.

What was the quality of Rescius' course on Homer's *Odyssey*? It seems that even toward the end of his life, and despite his busy agenda and his love of lucre, he still took his professorial duties at the Collegium Trilingue seriously. Indeed, the degree of detail and depth of his courses, in as far as the student notes allow to assess this, appears to have been considerable. Before one was able to attend these Trilingue courses, in which the focus was on reading and explaining often difficult Greek texts (*interpretatio*), one needed to master Greek grammar and have acquired a basic reading competence. At this stage, Erasmus' college was likely one of the best institutes to study Greek in the Low Countries, a claim the notes explored in this contribution seem to corroborate. In 1543, Rescius had about thirty years of experience as a teacher of Greek language and literature. This is reflected in the quality of his teaching, in which a broad spectrum of issues

was covered: grammatical, lexical, etymological, phraseological, text-critical, literary, mythological, geographical, etc. That Rescius was a successful teacher is confirmed by Erasmus as well, who congratulated him on his well-attended classes (see de Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 2, p. 332). In the end, advanced Greek courses like Rescius' contributed to making the groundbreaking work of scholars such as Gerardus Mercator and Andreas Vesalius possible, who eagerly drew on their mastery of Greek source texts in their pioneering studies.

In my contribution, I have only presented a first exploration of Rescius' didactic method and study program, principally through a corpus of thus far largely neglected notes taken by the Trilingue student Johannes Aegidius. A more systematic study remains desirable, which takes into account, among other things, the sources Rescius relied on in preparing his courses.[31] More broadly, an in-depth bio-bibliographical study of Rescius as a professor and printer of Greek is still a serious desideratum, all the more since investigating his publications and the countless copies that are extant could shed new light on his long career as a Hellenist. Moreover, without such fundamental tools, it will be impossible to arrive at an adequate understanding of the teaching of the classical languages during the Renaissance. But let us not be miserable prematurely... A change is underway, and scholars are increasingly appreciating the importance of studying the early modern history of classical language teaching and learning, for a long time a central and constitutive element of European identities.

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[31] This desideratum will be filled by PhD student Xander Feys in the framework of a research project on the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts at the Collegium Trilingue (with a focus on Virgil, Homer, and Psalms), funded by the KU Leuven Research Council as well as the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO).

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Abstract

In 1517, the Collegium Trilingue was established in Leuven. Founded under the will of Hieronymus Busleyden, this institute embodied Erasmus' humanist program of studying ancient texts, including the Bible, in their source languages. From its beginning, the college greatly contributed to the progress of learning in Western Europe, especially during the sixteenth century. Many renowned scholars, including Gerardus Mercator and Andreas Vesalius, studied at the Trilingue. Despite the undeniable impact of this institute, little is known about its actual teaching practices. This state of affairs is partly due to the scarcity of source material, but at least as much to the negligence of present-day scholars. The present paper aims to partly remedy this research lacuna by tentatively reconstructing the study program and didactic method of Rutger Rescius (*c*. 1495-1545), the first professor of Greek at the Collegium Trilingue. It principally aims to do so by zooming in on an exceptional document, thus far largely overlooked: the notes taken by a student of the Trilingue, a certain Johannes Aegidius, from October 1543 onward. They are written down in a copy of the 1535 edition of Homer's *Odyssey* and related works, printed by Rescius himself in cooperation with Bartholomaeus Gravius (d. 1578). The copy is now preserved at Ghent University Library. The following questions will take center stage in analyzing this document:

(1) What was the didactic method of Rescius, at that time very experienced as a teacher of Greek?

(2) How representative is the method reflected in the Aegidius document for Rescius' entire career and for the methods of other professors of Greek at the Trilingue?

(3) How does Rescius' method relate to early modern teaching methods for Greek in general?

I will also discuss what kinds of texts Rescius read with his students apart from Homer.

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READING VERGIL THROUGH HOMER
THE ROLE OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE
IN PETRUS NANNIUS'
DEUTEROLOGIAE SIVE SPICILEGIA *

Introduction:
Humanist Education and the Collegium Trilingue

In 2017, KU Leuven celebrated the 500th anniversary of the founding of the Collegium Trilingue, also known as the Collegium Buslidianum, named after its founder Jerome of Busleyden (*c.* 1470-1517).[1] This college, where one could study Latin, Greek and Hebrew free of charge, existed from 1517 until its disbandment in 1797, as a result of the French Revolution. Over the course of its 280-year history, not accounting for some minor periods of inactivity, the college achieved numerous successes and educated a great number of distinguished scholars.[2] Nevertheless, the beginning of the Trilingue's history was quite troublesome, for it took some time before the organizational quarrels

[1] Jerome of Busleyden studied at Leuven, Orléans, and Padua, where he obtained his doctorate in both laws in 1503. Soon after he was appointed as councilor in the Great Council of Mechelen, while carving out at the same time an ecclesiastical career. At the end of June 1517, just before departing on a diplomatic mission to Spain, he drew up his will, in which he stipulated that all of his inheritance was to be used to establish a new college within Leuven University. It so happened that he died of pleurisy on his way to Spain, in Bordeaux. It would not take long for the executors of his will to start the founding of the new Trilingual College. See de Vocht 1950, and 1951-1955 (esp. vol. 1); Papy 2018, p. 5-31 (esp. p. 7-12).

[2] See, for instance, de Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 4, p. 211-212 (with further references).

between the college's board and that of the university were resolved. In 1518, the Trilingue was eventually accepted into the *gremium*, the main body of Leuven University, albeit as an institution which offered only extracurricular courses, and which was not allowed to award any degrees. Still, from early on, the Collegium Trilingue proved to be very successful, as hundreds of studious youngsters flooded the auditoria within a matter of a few years (de Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 2, p. 7). Even outside the city walls, the college rapidly became a household name; in Portugal people were admiring *o método lovaniense* (de Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 3, p. 371-372), and in Paris the Collège Royal or Collège de France was founded in 1530 in direct imitation of the Trilingue (Fumaroli 1998).

For the study of Latin, it is safe to say that the period from 1518 to 1578 can be regarded as one of the most fruitful in the college's history.[3] The first generation of Latinists, consisting of Hadrianus Barlandus (1486-1538),[4] Conrad Goclenius (1490-1539),[5] Petrus Nannius (1496-1557),[6] and Cornelius Valerius (1512-1578),[7] were thoroughbred humanists who had appropriated the insights of their Italian predecessors via Rudolf Agricola (*c.* 1443-1485) and, most importantly, Desiderius Erasmus (1466/1467/1469-1536). They advocated a re-evaluation of the classical sources – hence the Erasmian saying *Ad fontes* ('Back to

[3] The period from 1517 to 1550 is thoroughly discussed in de Vocht 1951-1955; see also Feys & Sacré 2018. For detailed information on the study of Greek and Hebrew at the Collegium Trilingue, see Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018 and Van Hecke 2018, respectively.

[4] The standard monograph on Barlandus is Daxhelet 1938. See also Papy 2017, passim (esp. nos 56-70). Note that Barlandus' career at the Trilingue did not last very long. He taught for about 15 months – from September 1, 1518 to November 30, 1519 – before he left, dissatisfied with his wage.

[5] A complete overview of Goclenius' life and works is still lacking. Some biographical notes can be found in Bietenholz & Deutscher 1985-1987, vol. 2, p. 109-111 (Tournoy-Thoen). See also de Vocht 1951-1955, passim; Meuser 1968; Papy 2017, passim (esp. nos 71-74).

[6] The standard monograph on Nannius is Polet 1936. See also de Vocht 1951-1955 (esp. vol. 4); Bloemen 1985; IJsewijn 1994; Sacré 1994 & 1996; De Smet 1995; Haitsa Mulier 2000; Hooyberghs 2006; Tournoy 2006; Laureys 2014; Papy 2017, passim (esp. nos 75-87); La Charité 2019; Jaspers 2020; Feys 2020, 2021, and 2022.

[7] On Cornelius Valerius, see Kuiper 1941, p. 35-183; de Vocht 1957; Papy 2017, passim (esp. nos 88-96).

the sources') – and taught their pupils the allegedly pure Latin of antiquity, which in turn, after a rigorous study of select authors, would bring about pure morals.[8] Indeed, linguistic feel and morality were the two pillars on which humanist education was built.[9] Carefully picked study material and an approach centered on the direct imitation of classical authors (the so-called *imitatio* principle) were intended to empower students to analyze ancient texts effortlessly. It also equipped them with a broad (classical) frame of reference. All of this was possible due to an active command of the Latin language, which was of cardinal importance to the early modern intellectual.

1. *Petrus Nannius: Humanist from A to Z*

Pieter Nanninck, better known as Petrus Nannius, was born in 1496 in Alkmaar, where he enjoyed his basic education.[10] He was taught, among others, by Alard of Amsterdam (1491-1544), one of the editors of Rudolf Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* (finished in 1479; first printed in Leuven: D. Martens, 1515). In 1518, Nannius came to Leuven and enrolled at the Arts Faculty on November 2 of the same year. There he was educated in the *artes liberales* ('the liberal arts'), which, most importantly, consisted of grammar, logic, rhetoric, physics, ethics, arithmetic, and astronomy (Geudens 2020, p. 1-5). At the same time, Nannius attended the language courses at the recently founded Collegium Trilingue (Polet 1936, p. 4-5). Having served as rector at the Latin schools of Gouda and Alkmaar for the most part of the 1520s and early 1530s, he returned to Leuven in the winter of 1533-1534 and took up a private tutoring job, occasionally teaching publicly at the auditorium of the Augustinians (Screech 1986, p. 88; Papy 2017, p. 316-319, no. 151, Van Rooy). After Goclenius' death in January 1539, Nannius was appointed

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[8] On the saying *Ad fontes*, see van Herwaarden 2003, p. 534-561.

[9] On humanist education, see Kallendorf 2002.

[10] De Vocht (1951-1955, vol. 4, p. 460, footnote to line 57) argues, with good reason, that Nannius' year of birth was 1496, not 1500, which Polet and others consider to be correct.

as the new Professor of Latin at the Trilingue.[11] He officially assumed his position on January 14 with an opening lecture on Horace's *Ars poetica* (Andreas 1614, p. 51). He occupied the Latin chair until his own passing in the summer of 1557. Nannius not only proved to be a skilled Latinist, but he was also very proficient in Greek (Polet 1936, p. 91-124; Sacré 1996). A prolific translator of Greek texts, both of secular and patristic writings, he even published the *editio princeps* of the philosophical treatise Περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν ('On the resurrection of the dead') by the Greek early Christian author Athenagoras (fl. second century AD); Nannius' edition of the Greek text and his Latin translation were published by Bartholomaeus Gravius in 1541.[12] Furthermore, he composed original Latin texts, of which the comedy *Vinctus* (Antwerp: S. Cocus & G. Nicolaus, 1522) and the *Dialogismi Heroinarum* (Leuven: B. Gravius, 1541) are two notable examples (Polet 1936, p. 33-49 & 210-235; Hooyberghs 2006; La Charité 2019).

When teaching Latin at the Collegium Trilingue, Nannius primarily read classical authors, such as Cicero,[13] Livy,[14]

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[11] The eulogy which Nannius held for his deceased predecessor was published in Leuven by Servatius Sassenus in 1542. See Polet 1936, p. 50-51; Papy 2017, p. 140-142 (no. 74, Laureys).

[12] Polet 1936, p. 101-103, incorrectly states that the Greek text was solely published by Chrétien Wechel in Paris in 1541, followed by Nannius' Latin translation issued by Gravius in Leuven. Yet the Greek and Latin versions were published as a whole, albeit with separate title pages, by both Gravius and Wechel in that same year. In all likelihood, Wechel's edition is a reprint of Gravius'. The library of Trinity College in Cambridge holds a complete Gravius edition (shelfmark E.9.4[2]); the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin keeps a complete Wechel edition (shelfmark Bibl. Diez qu. 901).

[13] At the Trilingue, Nannius certainly read Cicero's *Orator*, *De legibus*, *Paradoxa*, *Pro lege Manilia*, *Pro Milone*, some of the Verrine orations, as well as *Pro Caelio* (cf. footnote 20 of this contribution). He even published a text-critical commentary on several Verrine speeches (Leuven: S. Sassenus, 1546). See Opmeer 1625, p. 116; Polet 1936, p. XVI, 15-16, 54-55, 58-60, 141-144 & 191; de Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 4, p. 194; Sacré 1994, p. 78; Papy 2017, p. 164-165 (no. 86, Feys); Feys 2020, p. 252-253. The copy of a *Paradoxa* edition (Leuven: R. Rescius, April 1542), now kept at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (shelfmark: 21600-B ALT MAG), contains annotations by an anonymous student of Nannius. In the bottom right corner on fol. Biij r, e.g., we can read a note, which clearly starts with 'Na[n]nius'. Notes by Philippe de Geloes of Hasselt, a student of Nannius during the 1540s (cf. Schillings 1961, p. 249, no. 193), on *Pro Milone* and *In Verrem* are held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (shelfmark: Z-3867, Z-3868 1-2).

[14] Nannius taught several times on Livy during the 1540s. He also published a text-critical commentary on the third book of *Ab Urbe condita* (Leuven:

Terence,[15] Lucretius,[16] and Horace.[17] One of his favorite authors was without a doubt Vergil (70-19 BC), on whom he often lectured and published several books. These publications can be divided into two groups: (prefatory) orations and commentaries. At the start of, or as an intermezzo in between, his lectures, Nannius usually recited an oration. Presumably in 1544, for example, at the outset of his classes on the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, he held a speech on love (*De amore*).[18] In this entertaining oration, in which he displayed his full rhetorical potential, he warned his pupils against excessively striving for love. Nannius

S. Sassenus, 1545). Polet 1936, p. 15-16 & 139-141; Papy 2017, p. 163-164 (no. 85, Feys); Feys 2020, p. 252. Student notes by the same Philippe de Geloes of Hasselt on the third and fourth book of *Ab Urbe condita* are also held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Z-3869 1-2).

[15] Nannius most likely lectured on Terence. Among the professor's presumably lost documents, Polet (1936, p. 192) mentions a copy of *Publii Terentii Comoediae sex* (Paris: R. Stephanus, 1536), teeming with manuscript notes by Nannius himself. Most recently, this book has been rediscovered, and it is now held at Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek (shelfmark 33 E 30 KL). It is bound together with Nannius' personal copy of a Plautus edition (Paris: R. Stephanus, 1530). His (lecture?) notes are indeed abundant and deserve further study; see Boers 2022.

[16] Nannius lectured on the first and second book of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* in 1542 and 1543. The opening speech to his classes on the second book was published in 1611 (Leuven, F. van Dormael), edited together with his oration on the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid* (Sacré 1994). For his classes, Nannius used the text edition published by Rutger Rescius in 1542. The Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels (KBR) holds a copy of this edition, annotated by one of Nannius' students (shelfmark VH 11.273 A); the professor's name is explicitly mentioned twice on fol. Biii r. See also Polet 1936, p. 15 & 61-68; Feys 2020, p. 252. The Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp also holds a specimen containing annotations which stem from Nannius' lectures (shelfmark B 1550). Judging by the provenance note on the title page (*Sum Caroli bombergi & uere amicorum*), this book belonged to Karel Bombergen (fl. second half of the sixteenth century), who enrolled at the Old University of Leuven on December 23, 1541 (Schillings 1961, p. 238, no. 67).

[17] Nannius' first class as a Trilingue professor was on Horace's *Ars poetica*. Polet (1936, p. 15, 155-158, 179-186) argues that Nannius reiterated these courses after 1548. In his *Miscellanea* (Leuven: S. Sassenus, 1548), references to other poems by Horace are also plenty. Valerius Andreas (1588-1655) posthumously edited Nannius' commentary on the *Ars poetica*, published in 1608 as the final segment in the *opera omnia* edition of Horace's works prepared by Laevinus Torrentius (1525-1595; Antwerp, J. Moretus). On Nannius' *Ars poetica* commentary, see Laureys 2014.

[18] The autograph of this oration is preserved at Leiden, Leiden University Library, Special Collections, MS VUL 98 F (fols 1 r-9 v). For a critical edition, see Polet 1936, p. 196-209.

pleaded for sufficient study and wariness. Again, we see linguistic feel and morality as two sides of a coin. One year later, he interrupted his classes on the sixth book of the *Aeneid* with an oration detailing his dreamt descent into the underworld, much in the vein of a Menippean satire (Polet 1936, p. 61-68; de Vocht 1951-1955, vol. 4, p. 487-506; Sacré 1994; De Smet 1996, p. 34-36 & 98-100). He also composed orations on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*.[19]

Two Vergil commentaries by Nannius have been published: one on the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, his *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia* (Leuven: R. Rescius, September 1544), and posthumously, one on all ten of the *Eclogues* or *Bucolics* (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1559). Some brief comments on Vergil can furthermore be found in books six and seven of his popular Σύμμικτα or *Miscellanea* – a collection of all sorts of small essays on numerous subjects and authors (Leuven: S. Sassenus, 1548). Seeing that some of these essays seem to reflect Nannius' lectures at the Trilingue, Polet (1936, p. 16 & 160-161) argues that he must have read Vergil's *Bucolics* and the first four books of the *Aeneid* before 1548. Apart from the lectures on *Aeneid* 4, which started in September 1544, we also know that Nannius taught the *Georgics* before November 1541, and the sixth book of the *Aeneid* in the year 1545 (Polet 1936, p. 15-16). Additionally, in an article on the Portuguese humanist Achilles Statius (1524-1581), who attended Nannius' courses from 1547 to 1548, IJsewijn (1994, p. 288-289) rightfully deduced that the Professor of Latin read the twelfth book of the *Aeneid* during that academic year, beginning in October 1547. A small note, furthermore, dating from September 1547 – written in a booklet allegedly containing a reading list of a Trilingue student – confirms that Nannius was indeed lecturing on Vergil once more (Coppens 2011, p. 157). However, no student annotations taken during these classes have thus far resurfaced. Nonetheless, from September 24 to December 9, 1549 Nannius again read the twelfth book of the *Aeneid* and student annotations taken during these lessons by Nicolaus

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[19] For the *Georgics*, see Nannius 1541, fols Aiv r-Ciii v; Polet 1936, p. 52-54; Papy 2017, p. 145-147 (no. 77, Feys). For the *Bucolics*, see Nannius 1559, fols a4 r-b3 v (p. 7-22); Polet 1936, p. 173-177.

Episcopius the Younger (*c.* 1530-1564), son of the eponymous Basel printer, are preserved in a Leuven edition of this text, published by Servatius Sassenus in 1549.[20] Lastly, in 1557, near the end of the professor's life, an ill Nannius lectured on the *Bucolics*, thereby substituting his own stand-in, Cornelius Valerius, who had also fallen sick (Polet 1936, p. 16, 173-177).

2. *Nannius'* Deuterologiae sive Spicilegia

Nannius' *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia* ('Second speeches or gleanings') was published in September 1544 by the house printer and first Professor of Greek at the Collegium Trilingue, Rutger Rescius (*c.* 1495-1545).[21] In the dedicatory letter to one of his

[20] For an online edition of Episcopius' student notes, see Feys 2021. Episcopius' copy of *Aeneid* 12 is preserved at Basel, Hauptbibliothek (shelfmark Ba Va 28:1) and will be studied in detail as part of my PhD project *Language and Literature Teaching in the Sixteenth Century: Vergil and Homer at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue* (funded by the Research Foundation – Flanders, FWO; grant number 11H8220N). Episcopius also partly attended Nannius' lectures on Cicero's *Pro Caelio*, which started on January 8, 1550, as evidenced by his annotations in another text edition published by Sassenus (Leuven, 1549). This copy is likewise kept at the Basel Hauptbibliothek (shelfmark Ba Va 28:4). As of today, both text editions have become extremely rare. Neither print is mentioned in any bibliographic reference book (e.g. Cockx-Indestege, Glorieux & Op de Beeck 1968-1994, Pettegree & Walsby 2011, or Kallendorf 2012). Only the Cicero edition has been added to the Universal Short Title Catalogue database (USTC 443838). A second copy of Sassenus' edition of *Aeneid* 12 is kept at KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections (shelfmark CaaA1196-2); it is part of a *Sammelband* containing three additional Vergil editions by the same printer (*Aeneid* 11, 1549; and *Georgics* 1-2, 1567-1568). All four booklets are densely annotated by the same sixteenth-century humanist hand, but, to the best of my knowledge, the annotations on *Aeneid* 12 do not match those of Episcopius. Perhaps the notes were taken at the end of the 1560s, when the *Georgics* editions were issued, or later. I have found no other copies of the Vergil edition. The National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg holds another specimen of the Cicero edition (shelfmark 7.5.2.111). This copy also contains manuscript annotations in at least two different hands, as Dr Mikhail Sergeev has kindly communicated to me. Some of the notes in one of the handwritings are similar to those of Episcopius. Further research is needed, but perhaps the Saint Petersburg copy, too, contains annotations from a Collegium Trilingue student.

[21] This commentary has become quite rare. Thus far, I have been able to trace ten copies, scattered throughout Europe: 1. Aberdeen, University Library (shelfmark pi MN 11.43); 2. Amsterdam, International Institute of Social History (shelfmark KNAW AB G 1551 s); 3. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek (shelfmark 4 LR 134; copy digitized by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in

students, Louis Etienne Césarion Chapuys († 1549) – the son of the French diplomat Eustache Chapuys († 1556), who served as Emperor Charles V's ambassador to England[22] – Nannius gives us some insight into his decision to publish a commentary on Vergil:

> *Saepius expertus sum mi Caesarion Graecarum sententiarum allegationes male ab auditoribus excipi, ideo quod vulgata pronuntiatio, nimium dissonet ab orthographia. Huic malo ut remedium invenirem, statueram Homerica carmina eiusdem cum Virgilianis argumenti, in margine asscribere. Sed quia id in tam angusto spatio fieri non poterat, ea post contextum versuum subieci. Ibi, ut fieri solet, adlubescente opera, plures synepias[23] Latinorum poetarum adiunximus, maxime quae quasi paraphrases Virgilianae aliquid lucis adferre videbantur. Istud dum ago, animadverto quaedam ab interpretibus omissa, quaedam male, quaedam obscuriter tractata, neque hic mihi supersedendum putavi. Iis auctariis factum est ut speciem commentarioli acciperent. Quae ideo vel δευτερολογίας vel spicilegia appellari placuit, quod non nisi praeterita collegissem. [...]* (Nannius 1544, fol. Aij r = Polet 1936, p. 282, *ep*. 44)

> All too often, my dear Césarion, have I experienced that the quoting of Greek phrases was badly received by the audience, for the very reason that the common pronunciation deviates too much from the spelling. In order to find a cure

München); 4. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (shelfmark L.P. 4.372 A 4); 5. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (shelfmark Lit.Rom.A.851); 6. Leuven, KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections (shelfmark CaaA1272); 7. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional (shelfmark RES. 4354//5 P.); 8. Lucca, Biblioteca Statale (shelfmark inv. LIA 32770 – col. Cinq. e.70/2); 9. Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca Pública de Palma (shelfmark IB-BPM 10.890(8); missing at the time of writing); 10. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II (shelfmark MISC. Val.514.2). The copy kept at KU Leuven contains handwritten annotations. These anonymous notes, clearly written in a humanist hand, although partly cut off, are generally speaking of a twofold nature: 1. interlinear annotations providing Latin synonyms and, to a lesser extent, translations of Greek concepts and expressions; and 2. marginal annotations containing various kinds of realia and other explanations.

[22] In 1548, Eustache Chapuys founded the College of Savoy in Leuven. For more information on Chapuys, see de Vocht 1934, p. 37-38 (footnote 4); Bietenholz & Deutscher 1985-1987, vol. 1, p. 293-295 (Felipe Fernández-Armesto).

[23] This is the Latinization of the Greek word ἡ συνέπεια ('connection of words or verses'). Hoven 2006, p. 555.

against that evil, I decided to write down in the margin the Homeric lines with the same subject matter as the Vergilian ones. But since that could not be done in such a small space, I added them after each set of verses. There, as usual, when everything was running smoothly, I included several passages by Latin poets, especially those that conveyed some insights, as if they were Vergilian paraphrases. When I was doing so, I noticed that some things were left out by the commentators, that some other things were handled incorrectly, again other things in an obscure way, and I did not think of passing over them here. Due to these additions it so happened that it started to look like a small commentary. That is why it pleased me to dub them 'second speeches' or 'gleanings', since I had only gathered things that had been passed by. [...]

Apparently, Nannius wanted to address a recurrent problem taking place during his lectures. Due to the discrepancy between Ancient Greek orthography and the then common vernacular pronunciation of the language, he felt that his audience was more often than not unable to understand his Greek citations, let alone write these down correctly. Hence, with regard to *Aeneid* 4, he resolved to collect the relevant Greek quotations and parallel passages himself, and to have them published as a remedy against this problem. In the process, Nannius decided also to incorporate other aspects of Vergilian exegesis. In what follows, I will discuss some notable features of Nannius' work, with specific attention paid to his use of Greek sources.

The commentary deals with 232 (out of 705) verses of *Aeneid* 4, about a third of the total. Clearly, Nannius did not strive for exhaustivity. He made sure to only add comments wherever he deemed necessary or where he felt other commentaries were lacking, which in turn resulted in the enigmatic title *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia*. The word *deuterologia* ('second speech'), derived from Greek ἡ δευτερολογία, is a technical term signifying the speech given by the second speaker in any given context. The term is used, for instance, by Hermogenes (e.g., *Stas.* 3) and Aphthonius (*Prog.* 7), two late antique Greek rhetoricians, with whose writings Nannius was undoubtedly acquainted (Polet 1936, p. 4, 239-240, 311-312). The rare term *spicilegium* ('gleaning'), on the other hand, is found in the works of Marcus Terentius Varro (*RR* 1.53; *LL* 7.109); it designates the collecting

of leftover crops after the harvest. Nannius' rather unusual choice of title fits well with the distinct approach of the commentary itself, in which he actively searches for new and original interpretations of *Aeneid* 4.

Nonetheless, Nannius' commentary draws heavily on a wealth of classical authors, mostly poets, as well as the late antique interpreters of Vergil, Servius and Macrobius, who also read Vergil in close tandem with Homer.[24] As to be expected, the latter is the Greek author cited most frequently by Nannius. Parallel passages taken from Apollonius of Rhodes, Theocritus, Hesiod, and Euripides feature as well, but to a lesser extent. Frequently quoted Latin writers, not taking into account the cross-references within the works of Vergil himself, are Ovid, Seneca the Younger, Gaius Valerius Flaccus, and Claudian. References to contemporary authors are almost entirely lacking, except for three mentions of Cristoforo Landino's (1424-1498) Vergil commentary.[25] One would perhaps expect Nannius to draw more from the work of his Italian predecessor than is actually the case. Part of the explanation could be that Nannius had a different purpose in mind. Rather than interpreting the epic in an allegorical way, as the Italian humanist had done before him, he opted for a commentary that fitted his own pedagogical scope, that is, offering the students of the Collegium Trilingue an accessible text edition, containing useful explanations of the narrative of the story not found elsewhere, all the while emphasizing the Greek echoes found in *Aeneid* 4. Additionally, it is interesting to note that Nannius opted to have the commentary follow after a chunk of text of roughly 10, 15 or 20 verses, instead of arranging his observations in large numbers around Vergil's text as was often done at the time.[26] This seems to coincide with

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[24] In several instances, Nannius does not shy away from disagreeing with these authoritative commentators, e.g., on fol. Eij v (at *Aen.* 4.383-384).

[25] See fols Di v (at *Aen.* 4.261), Fiv v-Gi r (at *Aen.* 4.551), and Giv v-Hi r (at *Aen.* 4.654). On Landino's commentary, which first appeared in Firenze in 1488, see Kallendorf 1983.

[26] In this regard, Nannius was perhaps inspired by the example of Robert Estienne's 1532 Vergil edition, in which each unit of verses is alternated by a section containing Servius' commentary. On Nannius' missing or lost personal copy of this edition, see Feys 2020, p. 253-255.

the amount of lines discussed by Theodoricus Langius, Professor of Greek during the second half of the sixteenth century, in his classes on Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* (Van Rooy & Van Hal 2018, p. 138).

Since Nannius was a passionate interpreter of Greek, and his commentary came about, in the first place, by placing the text of Homer next to that of Vergil, his translation skills emerge now and then. Every time he cited a passage from a Greek poem, he provided a Latin translation, almost exclusively by his own hand, in the process preserving the metric qualities of the original by drawing up his renderings in fluent dactylic hexameters. For instance, at *Aen.* 4.98 (*Sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc cer-tamine tanto?*), where Juno addresses Venus about their quarrels over Dido's love for Aeneas, Nannius noticed the following parallel in Homer's *Iliad* (14.190-192; Hera to Aphrodite):

ἦ ῥὰ νύ μοι τί πίθοιο φίλον τέκος ὅττικεν εἴπω,   [D D D D D] [27]
ἠέ κεν ἀρνήσαιο κοτεσσαμένη τό γε θυμῷ;   [D S D D D]
ὅυνεκ' ἐγὼ δαναοῖσι, σὺ δὲ τρώεσσιν ἀρήγεις.[28]   [D D D S D]

Nannius translated these verses as follows:

Morigerare meis age nunc mea filia verbis   [D D D D D]
An mavis odiis memor irae insistere priscis?   [S D D S D]
Quod foveam Danaos opibus, tu moenia Troum.[29]   [D D D S D]

Well then, my child, do you give in to my words
or do you rather want to persist in old hate, mindful of your anger?
Because I support the Greeks with military force, (and) you the city walls of the Trojans.

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[27] The abbreviations indicate the metric structure of the verses: D = dactylic foot; S = spondaic foot.

[28] Cf. Homer, trans. Murray 1999, p. 81: 'Will you now heed me, dear child, in what I shall say? Or will you refuse me, being resentful at heart because I give aid to the Danaans and you to the Trojans?' Here, and in the following citations, the Greek lines have been literally copied from the printed text as it appears in Nannius' commentary, and in doing so includes the original peculiarities of the accents, the spirituses, as well as the lack of upper case letters. The spelling of the Latin verses, on the other hand, has been normalized to fit the style of the other Latin words and texts cited throughout this article.

[29] Nannius 1544, fol. Biij r.

We see that Nannius could only literally translate the Greek lines to a certain degree. Of course the idiomaticity of the Latin language had to be guaranteed as well. In the first verse, for example, the professor substituted the subordinate clause ὅττί κεν εἴπω ('[Will you now heed me] in what I shall say') with the object construction *morigerare meis verbis* ('do you give in to my words'). He compensated this necessary intervention by ensuring that his Latin rendering ended with the same semantic emphasis as the Greek original (εἴπω–verbis). In the second verse, Nannius even went as far as to add an extra layer of interpretation to the Greek verse. Whereas the Greek word κοτεσσαμένη does indeed signify that Aphrodite was angry at Hera, Nannius – undoubtedly to complete his Latin hexameter – wrote *mavis odiis [...] insistere **priscis*** ('do you rather want to persist in **old** hate'), thereby reiterating the mythological commonplace that the two goddesses had indeed since long been at odds with one another. Furthermore, the third line of Nannius' translation looks almost identical to the Greek original, but here, too, Nannius introduced a new element. The Greek words σὺ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγεις ('you aid the Trojans'), he translated as *tu <foveas> **moenia** Troum* ('[because] you support the city walls of the Trojans'), and in doing so he added a poetic touch of his own by referring to the lofty walls of Troy rather than the Trojans themselves. Lastly, in this specific case the Latin metrical scheme is almost entirely the same as in the Greek lines, except for the second verse.

This example suggests that Nannius applied his method of translating carefully, which he explained on more than one occasion in some of his other publications. He would clarify this method as follows in his *Miscellanea*:

> *Video autem in omni translatione tria esse servanda. Ut verba, quatenus licet, retineantur, quale est, verbum verbo expressum, quod isto in loco vestitum appellabimus. Ut sententia ubique incolumis maneat, quod pro corpore imputabimus. Denique ut indoles incorrupte servetur, quam (si libet) animam orationis nominare posses.* (Nannius 1548, fol. B3 r = p. 5)

> I feel, however, that in every translation three issues should be observed: that the words are retained as much as possible, as it is, expressed word by word – which we will call at this point the clothing. And that the sense remains unscathed,

which we will consider to be the body. That, finally, the genius is kept intact; you could call it, if desired, the soul of the expression.

It appears that, for Nannius, a good translation followed three main principles: 1. retaining the actual words, 2. preserving the meaning, and 3. maintaining the style of the author.[30] It furthermore seems that the seed of this method can be found in the dedicatory letter to his Latin rendering of a homily by Basil of Caesarea published in Leuven by Rescius in February 1537:

> *Hunc libellum summa fide interpretari annixi sumus, et quantum a nobis fieri potuit, verbum pene verbo reddentes, salva tamen ubique sententia, et ad indolem Latini sermonis reformata, ne peregrinitas* ἑλληνισμοῦ *lectori obstreperet.* (Nannius 1537, fol. Aiii r = Polet 1936, p. 94-95, 251-252, *ep.* 12)

> We have done our best to translate this little book with utmost fidelity, and as well as we could, nearly translating word-for-word, we ultimately maintained the meaning everywhere and tailored it to the characteristics of the Latin language, in order that the foreign Greek aspect would not stand in the way of the reader.

Exceptionally, when citing from Dionysius of Alexandria's *Periegesis* (*c.* first half of second century AD), Nannius did not refer to the original Greek text.[31] He did, however, present his students with a Latin translation by the grammarian Priscian (fl. fifth-sixth century AD), without explicit mention of the latter's name, which might trick readers into thinking it is Nannius' own rendition. Most likely he had a copy of that text lying around in his study at the Trilingue. In an inventory of a bookshop located next to the Trilingue, drawn up in the wake of a heresy trial no later than February 1543, it is indicated that the shop owner, Hieronymus Cloet, had a copy of Dionysius' text for sale. Judging by the description of this book by the person who wrote down the entry in the inventory, it concerns a bilingual Greek and Latin edition: 'Dio. de situ orbis Grece et Latine' ('Dio[nysius], On the descrip-

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[30] See also Papy 2017, p. 144-145 (no. 76, Sacré), 158-160 (no. 83, Feys). On the topic of Latin translation in the Renaissance, see Botley 2004.

[31] Nannius 1544, fols Biv v and Ci r.

tion of the world, in Greek and Latin'; Delsaerdt 2001, p. 463, no. 278). Although Dionysius' geographic work emerged in several Latin translations multiple times before 1500, the *editio princeps* of the Greek text was only published in 1512 by Giovanni Mazzocchi in Ferrara, an edition which also included Priscian's translation and a textual commentary by the Italian humanist Celio Calcagnini. Judging by the title page of this edition, the authenticity of Priscian's rendering was doubted at the time and was instead attributed to Quintus Remmius (or Rhemnius) Fannius Palaemon (fl. first century AD). Perhaps this dispute on the actual author of the translation, which has since been proven to be Priscian (van de Woestijne 1953), led Nannius to omit the translator's name in his Vergilian commentary. Furthermore, the Ferrarese edition was reissued in Basel by Valentin Curio in September 1522. Seeing that no other bilingual editions of Dionysius' text appeared before the publication of Nannius' *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia* in 1544, it stands to reason that he either used the 1512 *editio princeps* or the 1522 Basel version.[32]

Nannius also completed four out of five unfinished verses in *Aeneid* 4, to wit lines 44, 400, 503, and 516.[33] Fittingly for a humanist, some of his complements refer to other classical authors. In the following lines, which correspond respectively to *Aen.* 4.43-44 and 4.399-401, the text in italics indicates Nannius' additions:[34]

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[32] Note that in 1575, Andreas Papius of Ghent published a bilingual edition of Dionysius' *Periegesis* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin), featuring not only his own translation, but also an emended version of Priscian's. For his critical notes on Priscian's rendering, Papius made use of, among others, a mutilated manuscript of that text held at the Collegium Trilingue (cf. p. 112: '[...] cum ecce mihi tertium exemplar, sed mutilum, suppeditat collegiu[m] Trilingue Buslidianum'). On p. 145, Papius writes that one cannot gather any information from the Busleyden copy as far as the disputed authorship of the translation is concerned, seeing that the manuscript lacks its title (or beginning altogether) and end ('De Buslidiano ideo nihil testari possum, quod in eo nec caput erat nec pedes.'). It is impossible to determine whether this manuscript was already at the Trilingue when Nannius was teaching there. If he made use of it while preparing his *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia*, it would account for the fact that the translator's name is not recorded, since it was absent from the manuscript itself. The current whereabouts of the manuscript remain unknown; most likely it was destroyed during one of two conflagrations of the Leuven University Library, either in 1914 or 1940.

[33] Nannius 1544, fols Aiv v, Eiij r, Fij v, and Fiij v. Cf. Polet 1936, p. 136.

[34] For the English translations, except for those of Nannius' complements,

> [Barcaei,] quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam?
> Germanique minas *et te tutore carentem*? (Nannius 1544, fol. Aiv v)

> Why speak of the wars rising from Tyre,
> and your brother's threats; *and why speak of you, who is without guardian*?

And:

> Frondentesque ferunt remos, et robora silvis
> Infabricata fugae studio, *per littora Teucros*
> Migrantes cernas, totaque ex urbe ruentes (Nannius 1544, fol. Eiij r)

> They haul from the woods leafy oars and boughs unhewn,
> eager for flight, *and alongside the shores the Trojans*
> you could see, leaving and rushing out from all the city.

The 44th verse of *Aeneid* 4 is part of the monologue by Anna addressed to her sister Dido, in which the former convinces the latter that it would be a good decision to marry Aeneas and rally the much-needed Trojan forces behind Carthage. In complementing this verse, Nannius seems to refer to Lucan, *Phars.* 9.24: *[...] Patriam* **tutore carentem** / *excepit*, 'When his country had no guardian, he [i.e. Cato the Younger] took her in charge'.[35] The professor's addition fits the general tone of Anna's speech well, which starts with a multitude of rhetorical questions and ends with Anna claiming that Aeneas and his fleet were godsent to defend Carthage and its queen Dido. With regard to Nannius' second complement, he perhaps recycled the last two words of *Aen.* 3.186: *Sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos* **litora Teucros** / *crederet*, 'But who was to believe that Teucrians should come to Hesperia's shores?' Again, it accompanies the verse nicely, since the passage in *Aeneid* 4, where the incomplete line appears, describes how the Trojans flee the city of Carthage and prepare themselves to sail to their new destination.

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see Vergil, trans. Fairclough 1916 [repr. 2006]. The *Aeneid* contains in total 58 incomplete verses, the retroactive completing of which dates back to antiquity itself. See more generally Thomas & Ziolkowski 2014, vol. 2, p. 585 (s.v. 'half lines'; Power).

[35] Lucan, trans. Duff 1928, p. 506-507.

Similarly, Nannius, while translating the citations he took from Greek literature, often referred to other Latin poets by alluding to their works. In the following examples the words in italics are clearly references to the writings of Vergil, Ovid, and other classical authors.

– Verg. *Aen.* 4.76: a parallel with Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.685-686

> πολλάκï δ᾽ ἱμερόεν μὲν ἀνὰ στόμα θυῖεν ἐνισπεῖν.
> φθογγή δ᾽ οὐ προὔβαινε παροιτέρω. [...]

> Saepius ardebat mentis concepta profari,
> Sed sine progressu *vox* torpida *faucibus haesit*. (Nannius 1544, fol. Bij r-v)

> Often she [i.e. Chalciope, Medea's sister] longed to utter the words in her mind,
> but her torpid voice remained fixed in her throat without any progress.

> Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.774 & 3.48 (obstipui, steteruntque comae et *vox faucibus haesit*), and 4.280 & 12.868 (arrectaeque horrore comae et *vox faucibus haesit*) [36]

– Verg. *Aen.* 4.365: a parallel with Hom. *Il.* 16.33-36

> [νηλεές,] οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατὴρ ἦν ἱππότα πηλεύς,
> οὐδὲ θέτις μήτηρ, γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,
> πέτραι τ᾽ ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.

> Nequaquam pater est Peleus *agitator equorum*,
> Nec Thetis est mater, genuit sed te unda marina,
> Praerupti et scopuli, tibi enim mens saeva feroxque. (Nannius 1544, fol. Ei v)

> Not at all is your father Peleus, driver of horses,
> nor is Thetis your mother, but the grey sea bore you,
> and the precipitous cliffs, for your mind is fierce and ferocious.

> Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.2.7 (O, cuicumque faves, felix *agitator equorum*!)

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[36] Nannius was clearly aware that Vergil used this expression on multiple occasions. Episcopius the Younger, who attended Nannius' classes on *Aeneid* 12 in the fall of 1549, wrote down the following annotation in the margin of his textbook at line 868: *Hoc carmen Vergilius poëta noster sæpissime propter elegantiam posuit* ('Our poet Vergil used this verse very often due to its elegance.'). See Feys 2021, annotation ID 3971.

- Verg. *Aen.* 4.391: a parallel with Hom. *Il.* 22.466-467

> τὴνδε κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψε.
> ἤριπε δ᾽ ἐξοπίσω, ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσσε.

> Huic oculos nox obtexit caligine multa,
> In tergum resupina cadit, *mentemque reliquit*. (Nannius 1544, fol. Eiij v)

> Night covered up her eyes in great darkness;
> she [i.e. Andromache] fell backward, and she relinquished her spirit.

> Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.116 (Pergameusve labor. Dixit *mentemque reliquit*)

- Verg. *Aen.* 4.441: a parallel with Hom. *Il.* 12.132-134

> ἔστασαν, ὡς ὅτε δρύες ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρηνοι
> αἵ τ᾽ ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ὑετὸν ἤματα πάντα,
> ῥίζῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνεκέες ἀραρυῖαι.

> Constiterant, veluti quercus in montibus altae,
> Quae ventos pluviasque manent per tempora cuncta,
> Implexae *inter se* firmis *radicibus haerent*. (Nannius 1544, fol. Eiv v)

> They [i.e. Polypoetes and Leonteus, two Greek soldiers] stood there, like lofty oaks on the mountains that forever endure the winds and rains,
> and entwined with firm roots they cling together.

> Cf. Lucr. *DRN* 3.325 & 5.554 (nam communibus *inter se radicibus haerent*) [37]

Conclusion

Nannius read Vergil fully aware of the many reverberations of the Greek literary tradition present in his works. It is from this awareness that sprung the *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia*. Concomitantly, the commentary was Nannius' response to what was most likely a frustrating obstacle for both student and teacher, to wit the audience's oft-recurring inability to correctly under-

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[37] See footnote 16 of this contribution for Nannius' familiarity with Lucretius' *De rerum natura*.

stand quotations in Greek.[38] That this was indeed a continual issue at the time is evidenced by the many mistakes against Greek orthography, found in recently rediscovered (and edited) sets of student notes on Homer and Vergil originating from the Collegium Trilingue.[39] Yet, out of all of Nannius' commentaries on classical authors, it seems that the *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia* is the only one in which he explicitly addressed the problem as such and offered a solution. Besides providing his students with the Greek quotations in a printed form alongside the Vergilian reference text, Nannius also consistently added a Latin translation of his own, allowing him to showcase his mastery of Latin as a poetical language. Just as its title, the commentary itself takes up a special place in the long list of printed Renaissance commentaries on Vergil, offering a refreshing take on the ancient custom of reading Greek and Latin poetry side by side, a custom which Nannius clearly wished to instill in his students as well.[40]

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X. Feys (2021), 'Nannius-Episcopius annotations on Vergil's *Aeneid* 12 (Latin, 1549)', contr. Jan Papy, Andy Peetermans & Raf Van Rooy,

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[38] Interestingly, one negative assessment of Nannius' teaching capabilities at the time of his *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia* has come down to us, found in a letter from Ernst von Carlowitz to Julius Pflug (dated at Leuven October 28, 1544). In this letter Carlowitz wrote the following: *Ego hactenus Petrum Nannium publicum professorem privatim audivi, sed fuit homo valde negligens in docendo et emendandis epistolis, quare Damiano visum fuit, ut potius hospitis nostri lectioni interessem* ('So far I have heard Petrus Nannius, public professor, in private, but he was a man very negligent in his teaching and in the revision of my [practice] letters, which is why it seemed right to Damian [von Sibottendorf] that I rather attend the lecture of our host'). The actual topic of the course is not mentioned, and due to the addition of *privatim* we cannot merely assume that it concerns those on *Aeneid* 4 (which were public lectures). Carlowitz' and Sibottendorf's host was a *licentiatus*, which indicates that he had obtained a university degree as well as the permission to teach. In sixteenth-century Leuven, private teaching often occurred, much to the annoyance of the university. See Pflug 1969-1982, vol. 2, p. 526-527 (*ep.* 268). More on private teaching in Leuven at the time in Van Rooy 2020, p. 107-112 and Geudens 2020, passim.

[39] See, e.g., Feys 2021, annotation ID 2823, 3343, and 4341.

[40] Cf. Kallendorf 2020, p. 16-53 (esp. 31-33).

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Abstract

Petrus Nannius (1496-1557) is best known as the third Professor of Latin at the Leuven Collegium Trilingue from 1539 until 1557. He was, however, also a prolific translator of Greek texts, publishing Latin renderings of both classical Greek and early Christian writings over the course of his entire academic career. Although Nannius' life and work have already been thoroughly investigated, many aspects of his scholarly contribution still require further study. In this article, I focus on Nannius' *Deuterologiae sive spicilegia* (Leuven: R. Rescius,

1544), a commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid* 4, which came about in the first place by reading the epics of Homer and Vergil side by side. In particular, I will zoom in on the role of the Greek literary tradition featuring in the commentary. Paying specific attention to Nannius' Latin translations of Greek citations, I will discuss these renderings against the backdrop of the professor's views on how to translate correctly.

PART III
KNOWLEDGE IN PRACTICE
GREEK AND HEBREW IN ACTIVE USE

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TEACHING GREEK AND HEBREW IN EARLY MODERN ESTONIA*

Introduction

Following Swedish Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna's and King Gustav II Adolf's education reforms, several new higher education institutions were founded in the Swedish state, including its rather newly acquired overseas territories in Estonia, Livonia and Curonia (roughly corresponding to the territories of today's Estonia and Latvia). In order to facilitate Sweden's rule over these lands – where the members of the upper classes (from the nobility, clergy, and merchants to artisans) were Baltic Germans and not always readily submissive to the Swedish Monarchy – new schools were needed to educate pastors and staff for the administration (see Lindroth 1975, vol. 2, p. 2-56). In Tartu (then Dorpat), an academic gymnasium was founded in 1630 and soon after reorganized into a university which was called *Academia Gustaviana*, named after its founder Gustav II Adolf. After a brief, but excellent first start – the academy was already closed in 1656 – new life was breathed into the university when King Charles XI reopened it as *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* in 1690. It would however not last for long. In 1700, the university was moved to Pärnu (Pernau), where it ultimately ceased to exist in 1710.[1] Nevertheless, the university's relatively short life span produced remarkable achievements, which will be presented below.

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    [1] See Inno 1972, p. 11-24 (historical background), 25-33, 46-47, 51-56 (Tartu).

Simultaneously with the opening of the university, a printing house was founded, which was furnished with Greek and Hebrew printing types and thus capable of printing longer works in these languages (Jaanson 2000, p. 58-82). The university constitutions, modelled after the example of Uppsala University (as was the curriculum), gave general guidelines for teaching Greek and Hebrew.[2] Although these guidelines did not undergo any changes, the two periods in which it was active (1632-1656 and 1690-1710) nevertheless differ, because of the changes in the background and interests of the professors. Like most academies, the Tartu academy had four faculties, and Greek and Hebrew were taught in the Faculty of Philosophy. The study of Greek and Hebrew (the most prominent of the so-called Oriental languages) and the study of theology were tightly intertwined at the *Academia Gustaviana*: almost all professors of Greek were at the same time teaching Hebrew (and consequently bore the title of *Professores Graecae et Linguarum Orientalium*) and vice versa, except the very first professors of Greek (Peter Götschen) and Hebrew (Johann Weideling).[3] Following the tradition of the Wittenberg school, both Hebrew and Greek, as *linguae sacrae*, were first and foremost regarded as tools for gaining a better and deeper understanding of the Bible, and were therefore mainly taught to students who aspired to have a career in theology. More than once, these posts became a stepping stone for acquiring the more prestigious position of professor of theology or pastor.[4] It therefore comes as no surprise that some professors of Greek and Hebrew later became professors of theology. So, for instance, Gabriel Skragge and Salomon Matthiae obtained a chair in theology, the latter of whom later became a pastor in Narva, whereas Johannes Gezelius and Daniel Eberhard pursued careers in church and education in

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[2] *Constitutiones* 2015, p. 66. For the model of Uppsala, see Rauch 1943, p. 29.

[3] For Hebrew teaching, see Bulmerincq 1932a, 1932b; Nurmekund 1982, p. 203-205. For Greek teaching, see Tamm, Maadla & Lill 1982, p. 200-203; Päll 2003; Päll 2018. For both, see Inno 1972; Siilivask 1985; Hovdhaugen & al. 2000, p. 27. Hovdhaugen & al. 2000 also gives an overview of the whole Swedish Kingdom. On the background of teaching Hebrew in Uppsala, see Rundgren 1976.

[4] The constitution of the *Academia Gustaviana* stated that there had to be four professors of theology (*Constitutiones* 2015, p. 63-64); however, the position of the fourth theologian was never filled and the other professors fulfilled his tasks.

other regions of the Swedish Kingdom. Peter Götschen, to give yet another example, simultaneously taught language and theology. But some, like Ericus Holstenius (during the first period), Daniel Eberhard, and Ericus Fahlenius (during the second period) only taught Greek and Oriental languages (Inno 1972, p. 86-98). This paper proposes to study the history of teaching Greek and Hebrew more thoroughly, focusing on the roles played by different professors who have been previously neglected by research, in order to formulate some broader conclusions and contribute to a better understanding of trilingual philology in a Europe-wide perspective.

1. *The Start of Greek and Hebrew Studies in the* Academia Gustaviana: *From Initial German to Swedish Influence*

University constitutions recommended the teaching of Greek according to the grammars of Theophilus (Gottlieb) Golius (1528-1600) and/or Nicolaus Clenardus (Cleynaerts, *c.* 1495-1542), both of which saw numerous reprints after their first editions.[5] In addition, students were obligated to read the New Testament and Church Fathers, for example Gregory of Nazianzus, along with some pagan authors, such as Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Theocritus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Plutarch – all of the latter belonged to the canon of the greatest classics of ancient Greek literature, recommended by curricula of most European schools.[6]

The first professor of Greek in the academy (in 1632-1636), **Peter Götschen** (Petrus Goetschenius, ? Rathenow/Mark Brandenburg-1636 Tartu), had studied in Rostock and worked in

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[5] According to VD16, their first editions were: Theophilus Golius, *Educatio puerilis linguae Graecae* (Strassburg, Wendelin Richel 1541) and Nicolaus Clenardus, *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* (Louvain, Rutger Rescius, Johannes Sturm 1530). Some editions of Golius have been mentioned in Hummel 2007, p. 229, 351, 727, but in general Golius has remained understudied in modern times. For modern literature on Clenardus, see Van Rooy 2016, p. 124-125.

[6] *Constitutiones* 2015, p. 66. The lists of recommended school authors for Germany can be found in Vormbaum 1860-1863. For a more general picture of classical scholarship during the Renaissance, Sandys 1908 is still useful.

the Tallinn Gymnasium; he was also the rector of Tartu Town School (*Trivialschule*) (1632-1636) and later obtained the position of the third Professor of Theology (*theologus tertius*; 1634-1636).[7] Götschen was a skilled poet both in Greek and Latin: he composed the *Christognosia*, in 468 hexameters (a lengthy Greek exhortation to follow the correct understanding of Christian religion; see Elssner 2008, p. 43-49; Päll 2018, p. 79-80), two Latin verse orations commemorating the death of Gustav II Adolf of Sweden, and three shorter Greek poems, which occasionally use the cento technique, relying on verses by different ancient authors. He also presided over some disputations in theology. As a professor, he was first and foremost a theologian: in a cento-like congratulation to a disputation he uses the form of a priamel and contrasts a list of different subjects taught at the Faculty of Philosophy (such as natural sciences, rhetoric, and the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle) to theology, advising the readers to follow the path of the Muse of divine knowledge:

> αὐτὰρ ὁ οἶμος ἀληθείης θεοτερπέος ὀρθός
> ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ χαριέστερος, ἀξιεπαίνετος αἰέν·
> Ταῦτα ἔασι σαφῶς πολυΐδμονος ὄργια μούσης,
> ψεῦδος ἔχονθ᾽ ἥκιστα, θεῷ οὔτ᾽ ἀντιφερίζει,
> οὔτε θελήματι τοῦδ᾽, οὐ θεσπεσίῃσι γραφῇσιν.[8]

> But for me the direct path of the truth, pleasing to God, is more pleasant; it must always be praised. Clearly the mysteries of the Muse of much knowledge are such, which do not include lies and do not fight against God and his will and the Holy Scriptures.

Although Götschen was a skilled Hellenist and had a long career as a language teacher, he did not leave behind any manuals of Greek, possibly because of his heavy workload and early death. But during his brief period of teaching, several other poems (all occasional) in Greek were published by Heinrich Vogelmann

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[7] He had briefly worked at Tallinn Gymnasium before (1627-1631): see Väänänen 1987, p. 299; Klöker 2005, vol. 1, p. 675.

[8] V. 25-29 in Schomerus & Osaengius 1634, re-edited with a commentary as Goetschenius 2007. *Loci similes*: v. 25] Cf. Nonnus, *Paraphrasis Sancti Evangelii Joannei* Demonstratio 8.80, v. 27: οἶμον ἀληθείης θεοτερπέος· ἀτρεκίη δέ.] Cf. Christodorus Epicus 2.1.133, v. 28: λεπτὰ διακρίνων πολυΐδμονος ὄργια μούσης] Cf. Homerus, *Ilias* 21.357: Ἥφαιστ᾽ οὔ τις σοί γε θεῶν δύνατ᾽ ἀντιφερίζειν.

(Götschen's former colleague from Tallinn Gymnasium), Petrus Schomerus (the professor of astronomy and physics, later also theology in the *Academia Gustaviana*) and a student from Sweden, Nicolaus Aritander (Nicolaus Laurentii Nycopensis, who afterward became professor at the Royal Academy of Turku and was then ordained bishop in Viipuri, then in Finland).[9]

There are only few sources that shed light on the practices of teaching and using Hebrew in Tartu: the minutes of the senate (see Tering 1978; 1994; manuscripts at Tartu University Library) and the writings of the professors (poems, dissertations, grammars).[10] The way of teaching mainly consisted of *lectio* ('reading') or, more accurately, *dictatio* ('dictation'). The professor of Hebrew (and Oriental languages) was expected to introduce the rules of grammar (including accentology and phraseology) according to a textbook and explain them based on relevant texts. His duties, as stated in the constitution of the *Academia Gustaviana*, were to teach – in addition to Hebrew – the basics of Chaldean (biblical Aramaic), Arabic, and Syriac, relying on the manual of Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564-1629), an eminent Hebraist of the time: *Hebraeae lingvae Professor Hebraeam lingvam una cum initiis Chaldaicae, Arabicae et Syriacae lingvae tradet hora 9, qva in re cum Buxtorfius excellat, eum proponet.* ('The professor of Hebrew will teach Hebrew along with Chaldean, Arabic, and Syriac at 9 o'clock; as Buxtorf is outstanding in these matters, he will teach according to him'; *Constitutiones* 2015, p. 58). Furthermore, the professor had to interpret parts of the Bible, such as the Book of Genesis, Job, Psalms, and the major prophets.[11]

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[9] For Vogelmann and Schomerus, see Päll 2010. For Aritander, see Väänänen 2011.

[10] For all prints from and connected to Tartu, see the bibliography in Jaanson 2000, soon to be replaced by the volume of *Retrospective National Bibliography of Foreign Books* published in Estonia up to 1830, compiled at Tallinn University Library by the research group of Tiiu Reimo, yet to appear in print; however, most data are already available in *The Online Catalogue of Estonian Libraries*, *ESTER* (www.ester.ee).

[11] Bulmerincq 1932a, p. 39. The Constitutions of the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* specified the works to be used for different Oriental languages: Hebrew was to be taught from the Old Testament, Chaldean from the Books of Ezra and Daniel as well as from the Targum, etc., Syriac from the New Testament,

This approach did not always work, as is demonstrated by the (rather short) career of the first professor of Hebrew (and professor of theology) in the *Academia Gustaviana*, **Johann Weideling** (1603 Erfurt-1635 Stockholm). He was born in Erfurt, where he also studied; and also briefly worked in Tallinn, yet after his arrival in Tartu, he was unable to hold the chair for longer than approximately one single year (1632/1633), partly due to his unorthodox teaching methods. Although he seems to have been very skilled in Hebrew, as was testified by the speech on the benefits of the study of theology that he gave in Hebrew (Weideling 1633), he did not manage to successfully transmit his knowledge to the students. In 1633 students refused to attend his lectures of Hebrew, complaining that they gained nothing out of them. The university senate discussed the issue, as evidenced by the surviving minutes. Weideling, the students complained, tried to teach the language directly through reading and translating texts, without introducing the students to grammar and dictating the rules first – he seems to have assumed that students would have acquired a necessary level of Hebrew from their previous studies in the gymnasium. He was said to read more in one hour than the students could have managed to understand in eight days. The complaints led to a quarrel with the rector Andreas Virginius, and even the arrest of Weideling, who was soon called to the position of pastor of the German congregation in Stockholm, where he died two years later.[12]

Weideling's elected successor, Joachim Movius, failed to arrive in Tartu. Instead, the position was filled in 1636 by **Salomon Matthiae** (1609 Lüneburg-1665 Narva) who soon also became professor of Greek (1637-1642) and afterward moved to the position of the second theologian (1642-1650).[13] Matthiae did

the Psalms, etc., and Rabbinic Hebrew from the commentaries of the Bible: see Inno 1972, p. 117.

[12] Tering 1978, p. 38-49, 54-65, 68-75, for biographic details. See also Inno 1972, p. 87; Karttunen 1995, 66-67. Hebrew was taught only in the last classes of the gymnasia. For example, at Tallinn Gymnasium it was taught to the *Prima* (last class), whereas the recommended textbook was initially the Hebrew grammar by Martin Trost, toward the end of the century also the Hebrew manual by Heinrich Opitz: see Kaju 2015, 42, 456 and below for Trost.

[13] See on him Bulmerincq 1632a, p. 66-73, Klöker 2005, vol. 1, p. 701. Petrus Schomerus (the professor of astronomy and physics in 1633-1639, second theo-

not leave behind many publications, but we can assume that the teaching of languages continued on a sufficient level; during his professorship the recently published *Grammatica Ebraea* (Copenhagen 1627) by the Wittenberg professor of Hebrew Martin Trost (1588-1636) was reprinted at the Tartu Academy for the use of its students.[14] At the same time, several students published Greek poems – for example, Nicolaus Nycopensis (later professor in Turku), David Cunitius (later professor of poetics at Tallinn Gymnasium), Matthias Erici, Martin Henschel, and Johannes Gezelius (the next professor of Greek after Matthiae). For his wedding, Matthiae received a lengthy epithalamion in Greek from the professor of Greek of the Tallinn Gymnasium, Reiner Brockmann, which described him as skilled in diverse languages (ὃς παντοδαπῶν ἐπὶ πλέον ἵκετο γλωσσῶν, 'a man who had achieved a thorough knowledge of diverse languages') and entirely dedicated to scholarly studies.[15]

2. *Johannes Gezelius and Gabriel Holstenius Teaching Sacred Languages in Tartu*

Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1615 Gävle, Västmanland-1690 Turku, Finland) took over the professorship of Greek and Hebrew in July 1642 and filled the position until his departure from Tartu in the summer of 1649 (officially until 1650). In contrast to Matthiae, he was a prolific writer, active in both philology and theology and in the field of public education, where he is known as a follower of Jan Amos Komenský.[16] His years

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logian from 1639) has been named professor of Greek literature at the University of Tartu for the years 1638-1639 (Piirimäe 1982, p. 280; Tamul 1997, p. 23 vs. Tering 1994, p. 168-173). However, different contemporary sources (prints, financial and other documentation) do not mention Schomerus as professor of Greek (see also Päll 2003, for financial documents Päll 2006). In 1633, Schomerus had published one short congratulatory poem in Greek.

[14] See Trost 1638. Trost's grammar was later revised and reprinted by his pupils and successors Jakob Weller and Andreas Sennert. For more on this topic, see Miletto & Veltri, 2012, p. 1-22.

[15] See v. 3, edited in Päll 2013, p. 436; see also p. 424-425 for discussion.

[16] See on him Kõpp 1932, p. 61-64; Päll 2003, p. 24-27; Korhonen 2004, p. 89-99. A list of his works can be found in Jaanson 2000 (see also Recke & Napiersky 1829, p. 34-48).

in Tartu already foreshadowed his future career in the church; for example, he keenly followed the disputations of the first theologian Andreas Virginius (such as the series on the Gospel of St John and on the Psalms)[17] and in 1648, during private disputation exercises on the *loci* of theology,[18] discussed the subject which he resumed in public Greek disputation exercises in 1649 when he had become the adjunct of theology (ἀγ. θεολ. ἐπίλεκτος).[19]

Gezelius promoted writing in Greek and Hebrew among his students and was himself a prolific Greek poet: in Tartu he published at least 25 Greek exhortatory and congratulatory poems.[20] He adhered to the fast learning methods of Philip Glaum and Jan Amos Komenský, which promised to teach fluency in foreign languages within very short periods of time (from four weeks to six months); in the footsteps of Gabriel Holstenius (an introducer of Glaum's method in Sweden), Gezelius presided over at least 35 disputations in Greek during his Tartu period (including a series on pneumatology in 1644-1647 of which seven disputes are extant – see Figure 1 – and a series on the *loci* of Christian faith in 1649, of which only title pages are extant).[21] He also published several manuals for Greek: a student edition of Pseudo-

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[17] As fourteen Greek congratulation poems by him and his students to the respondents of these disputations testify; see the entries in Jaanson 2000.

[18] The manuscript is preserved at UUB, MS Nordin 21, Theologica. According to university constitutions, discussing *loci* was the task of the fourth theologian, who was missing in Tartu. In his absence, the task could have been fulfilled by the adjunct in theology, although officially (at least as far as financing is concerned) this position was created in 1650 according to Sild 1932, p. 22-23.

[19] The biographies give confusing and contradictory information concerning his work periods and also indicate that he might have been a professor of theology (or extraordinary professor). The dates, based on financial accounts of the university and titles in the documents, are based on Päll 2006 and Friedenthal & Päll 2017, p. 207-208.

[20] At least three students also presented short Hebrew congratulations. For Andreas Megalinus, Tholetus Arvikander, and Laurentius Stalenus, see Jaanson 2000; for Greek poetry, see Päll 2018, p. 84-91. Some of Gezelius' poems have been republished (with Estonian translations and commentaries) as Gezelius 2007; see also Päll 2014, p. 151-152.

[21] Disputing in Greek was introduced to Sweden by Gabriel Holstenius, who had been professor in Västerås when Gezelius was a student there: see Päll 2019, p. 405, with a more detailed discussion in Päll 2021. For his Greek disputations, see Friedenthal & Päll 2017; Korhonen 2018.

Fɪɢ. 1
Johannes Gezelius (praeses), Ericus Harkman (respodens),
Τῆς πνευματικῆς συζήτησις πρώτη, Dorpat 1644, title page.

Source: Finnish National Library, Rv diss. ulk. Gezelius, ‹https://digi.kansal
liskirjasto.fi/teos/binding/1976156?page=5› (public domain; link last accessed
5 January 2022)

Pythagorean *Golden Verses*, Pseudo-Phocylidean *Sentences*, and the poems of Theognis, including his own Latin translations of the first two authors and Melanchthon's translation of Theognis and some explanatory notes for students (Ps.-Pythagoras, Ps.-Phocylides & Theognis 1646); a heavily epitomized *Gramma-*

tica Graeca (which relies most on Theophilus Golius' Greek grammar), which became extremely popular and was reprinted at least 30 times in different towns of the Swedish Kingdom (Gezelius 1647); a Greek translation of Komenský's *Ianua linguarum*, in which Gezelius sometimes relied on its two already existing Greek translations by Theodor Simonius (1643) and Zacharias Schneider (1642), either following one of them, combining both, or (in numerous places) choosing his own solutions (Comenius 1648); and finally a *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, which according to Gezelius' own words, followed the method of Scapula, presenting the words by stems, because this way was *omnium facillimam, compendiosissimam atque utilissimam* ('the easiest, most concise and most useful of all'; Gezelius 1649, sig. Dd3r).[22]

In the Greek dedication to the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, addressed to Queen Christina, Gezelius stresses the main reasons for teaching Greek: its antiquity,[23] its holiness as the language of the New Testament (which addressed the whole world, in contrast to the Old Testament which was in Hebrew and addressed the Jews only), and thirdly its sweetness:

> καθὼς ὁ παταμὸς [*sic*] μελίρρυτος ῥέει καὶ τοὺς τῶν νόων ἐνδομύχους διαπερᾷ· τῷ γὰρ Γλ. ταύτης ἡδυσμῷ σθένος τοῦ δήμου ὠνομάζετο ὁ Δημοσθένης· Τῆς Γλ. ταύτης ἡδονῇ στόμα χρυσοῦν ἐκλήθη ὁ Χρυσόστομος. Ἡ δὲ Συνθήκη τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πόσας μελιηδέας γνώμας ἡμῖν ἐπιχωρηγεῖ; αἵτινες ἐν ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἡδύτεραί εἰσιν ἢ ἐν πάσῃ ἑρμηνείᾳ κἂν ἀρίστῃ. (Gezelius 1649, sig.)(4r)

> It flows like a river of honey and pierces the inmost parts of the minds. With the sweetness of this language, Demosthenes was called the strength of the people, and with the pleasure of this language, Chrysostomos was called a golden mouth. How many honeysweet thoughts the Pact of the Saviour leads into our minds? They are sweeter in their own language than in any other, even the best translations.

[22] For the fate of his manuals, see Kolk 2018.
[23] Presenting the history of four ages of Greek from the very beginning to mythical poets like Orpheus and Linus, then until the time of the Apostles; the third period stretches from the Apostles to the fall of Constantinople and the fourth era was the time of his writing.

In the following, Gezelius brings out the strength of expression and richness of Greek and, finally (briefly), its usefulness and necessity for the students of liberal arts.[24] However, contrarily to his own introduction to the Greek translation of *Ianua*, the argument of utility here is in the background (see Päll 2019, p. 403). The reason could lie in the dedication to Queen Christina, whose magnificence is underlined in his address, so correspondingly he probably preferred to stress the non-utilitarian aspects of the study of Greek.

Although Gezelius' main interest was in Greek, he also helped to promote the printing of Hebrew texts by equipping the university's print shop with additional Hebrew types, and to modernize the study of Hebrew by publishing the epitome of Trost's Hebrew grammar in 1647 (Trost 1647, sig. A1v). The epitome contains a dedication to the famous Swedish poet and philologist Georg Stiernhielm (1598-1672), written in beautiful and festive Hebrew (see Fig. 2).[25]

The text can be translated as follows:

> To Georg Stiernhielm
>
> Great peace [be with you]
>
> And you, my dear lord, while being loaded with many matters, you love and do not despise learning wisdoms, but speak wisdom in many languages, so that all the world and every fool sees the abundance of your wisdom. And I gird myself to fill my objective through this matter and to write a short work line by line in your great honor. May it please your Honor's eyes so that my heart may rejoice and I may find favor in your eyes. And now may sheaves of my blessings go forth from me and stand in front of the preciousness of your beauty and shout in a big voice: Shalom! Shalom! Blessed are you.
>
> Holy Community, Dorpat
>
> The year of Messiah [1]647
>
> 3rd of Nisan
>
> Yohanan Getselius

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[24] The arguments are quite typical; see for example Schelius 1530.

[25] Stiernhielm held different high administrative positions in Livonia, had properties near Tartu and lived there in 1630-1656, see Olsson 2007-2011.
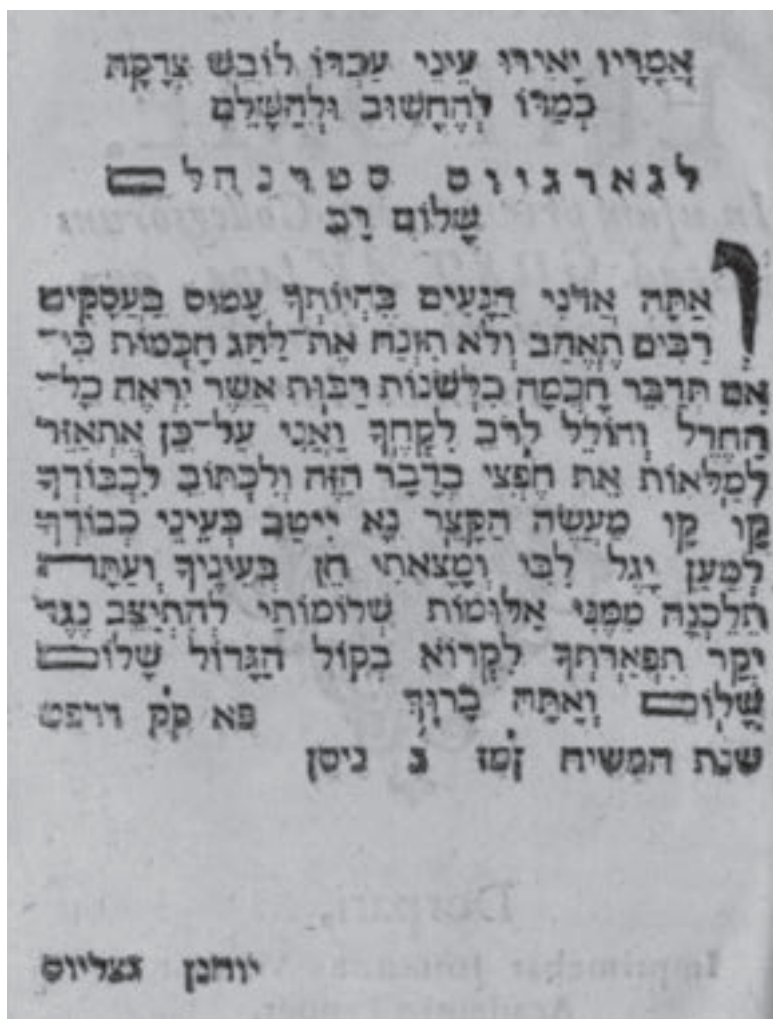
Fig. 2
Johannes Gezelius, *Grammaticae Trostianae epitome*, Dorpat 1647,
dedication to Georg Stiernhielm by Johannes Gezelius.

Source: Tallinn Academic Library, Baltica X-265, ‹https://www.etera.ee/zoom/
29825/view?page=2&p=separate&tool=info› (public domain; last accessed
5 January 2022)

Gezelius' successor as professor of Greek and Oriental languages
at the university in the years 1650-1656 was **Ericus Holstenius**
(1622 Västmanland-1669 Västmanland). He too seems to have
adhered to the fast learning methods which were practiced by his

uncle Gabriel Holstenius, because he provided the students with a new short Hebrew grammar, *Grammatica hebraica in tabellas redacta* (*s.d. et s.l.*), the exact content of which is unfortunately unknown.[26] He also presided over at least one student disputation in Greek, wrote Greek poetry, and several of his students wrote Greek and Hebrew compositions.[27]

In general, we can conclude that during the first period, the study of sacred languages had two foci: being the tool for theology, as required by university constitutions, but also a means of poetic self-expression in the academic context: at least 82 Greek poems and eight Hebrew texts were composed by professors and students of the Academy. The main emphasis during this period was on teaching Greek.[28]

In addition to the university in Tartu, Greek and Hebrew were also taught at the Tallinn Gymnasium, where more than 40 poems in Greek were published by its professors and students.[29] There are no extant Hebrew texts from this gymnasium, but an accomplished Hebraist from Tallinn, Eberhard Müller, presented a Hebrew oration *De quaestione: an Jesus Nazarenus filius Mariae, verus sit & promissus mundi Messias?* ('About the question whether Jesus of Nazareth, son of Mary, was the real and promised Savior (Messiah) of the world?') in 1654 as a student at Wittenberg University (see Müller 1654; Klöker 2005, I).

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[26] It is mentioned in Gadebusch 1777, vol. 1, p. 94. Due to the wars and different changes of regimes many books from Tartu Academy's press have perished, so the reference by Gadebusch seems plausible.

[27] See Holstenius & Sundius 1652. The authors of the Hebrew congratulations were students Arnoldus Mahlstedt, Johannes Sundius, and Erland Hiärne (all three also wrote Greek poems); Greek poems were also written by Johann Luth and some others. See also the Appendix to this article.

[28] Karttunen 1995, p. 66 claims (without presenting any evidence) that the main emphasis of teaching languages in Tartu-Pärnu Academy was always on Hebrew; however, during the first 30 years of the Academy, the number of texts in or concerning Greek (both poetic as well as teaching manuals) was considerably greater in comparison to texts in or concerning Hebrew, so it is impossible to agree with his view.

[29] For the study of Greek in Tallinn and other schools of Estonia, see Päll 2010, p. 117-123.

3. *The Professors of Greek and Oriental Languages at the Academia Gustavo-Carolina*

Whereas at the *Academia Gustaviana Dorpatensis* the study and use of Greek was flourishing, Oriental languages started to prevail during the era of the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690-1710). Its first professor of Greek and Hebrew in 1690-1698 was **Gabriel Skragge** (? Växjö-1704 Pärnu), a proponent of a strong formalistic approach whose main interest lay in Hebrew and a more theoretical approach to Hebrew grammar, as testified by a disputation presented under his guidance by Jacobus Wagner in 1697: *Disputatio Hebraeo-philologica de antiquitate punctorum vocalium et accentuum Hebraeorum, nec non coaevitate cum literis* ('Disputation in Hebrew philology on the antiquity of Hebrew vowel signs and accents and their coevality with letters'). Skragge also supervised a disputation on Judaism in 1692, with Joachimus Beuterus as *respondens*: *De Messia judaico sive qualem Judaei fingunt, ejusque adventu* ('Disputation about the Jewish Messiah or how the Jews describe him, and his arrival'; for Skragge, see Nurmekund 1982, p. 204). His interest in the Oriental languages is also attested by a short remark in a poem by a student, Ericus Castelius, stating:

Σήμερον ὦ νεότης μελετᾷς τι πρᾶγμα ποθητόν
  Γίγνεται, ὄκκα βλέπεις ὄμμασιν ὠκυθόοις,
ΣΚΡΑΓΓΕ γενέσθαι Θειολόγον, μέχρι τούτου ἀνοικτεί
  Γλώσσας ἀντολίης σοι ἀναφαινόμενον.
Οὗτός γ᾽ ὡς κομψῶς γλώττας ἐδίδαξέ σε αἰεί·
  Οὕτω παιδεύσει καί σε τὰ κρυπτὰ Θεοῦ.

(V. 1-6 in *Symbola mentium* 1698)

Today, youngsters, you pay attention to a long desired event happening, and see with your swiftly moving eyes how professor Skragge, who until now explained you relentlessly the Oriental languages, has become a theologian. How cleverly he always taught you the languages! So he will teach you the secrets of the God.

The abovenamed two are the only known disputations on Hebrew under Skragge's guidance. Others were on different subjects taught at the Faculty of Philosophy, from history and politics to physics (for example, precious stones) and mathematics. Although we

do not know whether he authored any Greek or Hebrew poems, he seems to have exhorted his students to use the languages actively: almost all (14 out of 17) extant Greek texts from the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* were written by students at the time of his professorship.[30]

Daniel Eberhard (? Mecklenburg-1710 Riga) took on the professorship of Greek and Oriental languages (1699 to 1701) when the university moved to Pärnu, after the death of Johannes Uppendorff, who was supposed to become the successor of Skragge. In addition to the lectures on Hebrew he also gave private lessons on Syriac, Chaldean, and medieval Hebrew. His inaugural lecture *De fatis linguae hebraeae* ('On the fates of Hebrew language'), held in Latin, dealt with the history of the Hebrew language, but he soon moved to Riga and there is not much evidence about his teaching of Hebrew and Greek in Tartu.[31]

The last professor of Greek and Hebrew during the Swedish period of the University of Tartu (and Pärnu) in 1701-1710 was **Ericus Fahlenius** (? Västmanland-1710 Pärnu). Fahlenius was also interested in Oriental languages as well as in Jewish and Arab literature. Before his arrival in Pärnu, he had worked on both Islam and Judaism during his studies in Uppsala. The first publication connected to him was a translation of a part of the commentary on the prophetic Bible books by the medieval Jewish mystic and exegete Isaac Abrabanel (1437-1509).[32] Three years later, in 1699, he presented his *disputatio pro gradu* in philosophy: *Historia alcorani et fraudum Muhammedis* ('The history

[30] With the exception of Bernhard Riesman's Greek gratulation from 1708 and Abraham Dahlmann's Hebrew congratulation from 1709. Out of eight extant texts in Hebrew, three were written by students during Skragge's professorship (of one, the Hebrew oration by Johann Elias Pastelberger, delivered on December 17, 1696, only the invitation by Skragge is extant: see Skragge 1696).

[31] The speech is not preserved, but it is known from the invitation to it (Cameen 1699; see also Nurmekund 1982, p. 204).

[32] *Duo priora capita ex commentario R. Isaci Abrabanelis in prophetam Ionam in linguam latinam translata* ('The two first chapters from the commentary of R. Isaac Abrabanel on the Prophet Jonah, translated into the Latin language'): see Palmroot & Fahlenius 1696. This was the first part of a disputation series, presented under the *praeses*, Johannes Palmroot, professor of theology at Uppsala University; the *respondens* of the second part was Karl Schulten, who later also became professor in Tartu (see below).

of the Koran and the deception of Mohammed').[33] His inaugural speech in Pärnu concerned the usefulness of Judean commentaries for Christian exegesis of the Sacred Scriptures.[34] In Pärnu he supervised several dissertations that, in addition to the Old Testament, dealt with different tractates from the Talmud: in 1706, the *Dissertatio historico-philologica de promulgatione decalogi ejusdemque tabulis* ('Historical and philological disputation on the proclamation of the Ten Commandments and their tablets'; Fahlenius & Wendebaum 1706) and in 1708, the *Exercitatio academica, philologice expendens voces duorum brevissimorum Scripturae locorum Esai. XLIX. 3. Jerem. XXX. 9* ('Academic exercise, considering philologically the words of two very short passages from Scripture, Isaiah XLIX.3 and Jeremiah XXXX.9').[35] In 1705 Fahlenius published an epicedium in Persian with a Latin translation commemorating the death of the professor of theology, Olaus Moberg (1653 Södermanland-1705 Pärnu), who had presided over several dissertations about the Old Testament and had also published one congratulation in Hebrew himself.[36]

If we look at the activity of the professors of Greek and Oriental languages as the promoters of active language use among the students, we see a change of emphasis during the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* period. In the case of Hebrew, the authors of the nine short gratulatory texts are mostly professors, and in the case of Greek there is likewise a very strong decline in numbers, as only 15 printed texts (against more than 80 from the *Academia Gustaviana*) in Greek were published by the students and professors of the academy. Moreover, most of the Greek texts were composed before Skragge's departure, so it seems that

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[33] See Esberg & Fahlenius 1699. The *praeses* of this disputation, Johannes Esberg, was the professor of Greek at Uppsala University.

[34] *Oratio introductoria de triplici Iudaeorum in libros sacres commentandi ratione eorundemque scriptorum usu et utilitate in scholis Christianorum* ('An introductory speech on the triple principle of Jews to comment on the sacred scriptures and on the use and utility of these same scriptures in Christian commentaries'), mentioned in Gadebusch 1777, vol. 1, p. 316, but not located.

[35] See Fahlenius & Dahlmann 1708. The *respondens* of this disputation, Abraham Johannes Dahlmann, received a gratulation (not printed) in Hebrew from Johann Kemper: see TUL, MS F.7-30, fol. 33, and Päll 2016, p. 484 (with a reference to prof. Tapani Harviainen). See also Fahlenius & Herlin 1703.

[36] *Beatis manibus* 1705 and Moberg & Brockmann 1696.

in the following period Greek studies were almost neglected at the Academy (see Päll 2018, p. 85-91).

The most remarkable figure for the early Semitic and Jewish studies at the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* was **Karl** (Carolus) **Schulten** (1677 Västmanland-1730 Lund),[37] professor of theoretical philosophy, logic, and metaphysics (1705-1707) and history (1707-1710) at Pärnu Academy. He had studied Hebrew, the Talmud, and medieval Jewish literature in Uppsala with professor of theology Johannes Palmroot (1659-1727)[38] and with Rabbi Moses ben Aharon Cohen of Kraków (1670-1716), a Sabbatean Jew, who converted to the Lutheran faith and came to be known as Johan Christian Jacob Kemper.[39] Carl Papke, the professor of eloquence at Lund University, said in the obituary speech for Schulten that he had found in Kemper someone who could satisfy and quench his gaping thirst for knowledge.[40] Kemper also wrote a lengthy complimentary poem in Hebrew for the commemoration of his student's inaugural speech, which was held in Pärnu, also in Hebrew, in 1705 (Kemper 1705). A year later, Schulten presented another oration in Hebrew, praising Charles XII.[41]

In Pärnu, Schulten started to prepare an edition and Latin translation of *Sefer hakham lev* ('Wise in the heart'; 1693) by Rabbi Jehuda Lebh (seventeenth century), a summary of, and commentary on, the 613 biblical and rabbinical precepts according to the *Mishneh Torah* by Maimonides. According to Josef Eskhult, this was done on the initiative of Kemper, who had

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[37] For his life and work, see Eskhult 2001, p. 185-194.

[38] Schulten submitted his dissertation on medieval Jewish exegesis, i.e. Abrabanel's commentary on Jonah, under his supervision: see Eskhult 2007, p. 60, 70, and Palmroot & Schulten 1701.

[39] He was employed as teacher of Rabbinic Hebrew at Uppsala University in 1701. He translated the Gospel of Matthew from Syriac (1703) and wrote a commentary on Matthew in the spirit of Christian Kabbalah: *Me'irat 'Enayim* ('The enlightenment of the eyes'; 1704). The latter was translated into Latin by his student Andreas Norrelius (*Illuminatio oculorum* 1749) His most famous work was a three-volume commentary on the Zohar, entitled *Matteh Moshe* ('The staff of Moses'; 1711). See on him also Eskhult 2007, p. 61-84.

[40] *Memoria Caroli Schulten*, 23 as quoted in Eskhult 2007, p. 70.

[41] Müller 1764, IX.2/3, p. 242-243; Rauch 1943, p. 351, both probably relying on the minutes of the Faculty of Philosophy for March 10, 1706 (TUL MS F.7-30, fol. 43v).

brought the manuscript of the work from Germany and had already begun to translate it in 1701. In 1708 Kemper visited Pärnu in order to discuss the plans for its editing and translating with Schulten.[42] On August 27, 1709 Schulten obtained the permission of the Faculty of Philosophy to print the translation and to present parts of it as disputation exercises:

> *Disputando edendi tractatum sub tit(ulo) Rabbi Jehuda Lebh, ita ut studiosis liceat in eodem opere pro exercitio partes sustinere.* (TUL, F.7-30, fol. 50r)

> For the sake of disputing, editing the treatise under the name of Rabbi Jehuda Lebh, so that the students could present parts of this work as disputation exercises.

The disputations took place on September 15 (the *respondens* was Carolus Almstadius from Jämtland), October 18 (the *respondens* was Henrich Gustav Dörre from Livonia), and October 27 (the *respondens* was Johannes Elias Pastelberger), as confirmed by the acts of the Faculty of Philosophy and prints of the title pages of the disputations with paratexts, which include Schulten's Hebrew congratulations to his students Alstadius and Dörre.[43] Bibliographies indicate that the first part of the work with both the Hebrew and the Latin texts and comments appeared in print in Pärnu in 1709 under the names of Carolus Schulten and the third *respondens*, the pastor of Mustajala congregation, Johann Elias Pastelberger as: *Rabbi Jehuda Lebh versione, notis, paraphrasi, emendatione textus, interstinctione dictorumque S.S. in margine notatione illustratus* ('Rabbi Jehuda Lebh with a translation, notes, paraphrase, text emendation, interpunction, and illustrated by annotating sayings from the Sacred Scriptures in the margin').

However, there are severe doubts about the information available on this text. In the surviving copy of this print in Tartu University Library, the main Hebrew and Latin text is in a different

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[42] Eskhult 2007, p. 70-71. For Kemper's Hebrew gratulation, written in Pärnu during this visit, see above under Fahlenius.

[43] See TUL, F.7-30, fols 50r & 51r and the prints Rabbi Jehuda Lebh 1709a; 1709b; Schulten & Pastelberger 1709 (for the latter, see also below in the main text).

layout and printing type than the title page and paratexts (which were similar to other two disputation invitations and undoubtedly printed in Pärnu) and closer to later prints from Sweden. Moreover, the University of Tartu Library's copy of this disputation is incomplete: the Hebrew text and translation, which are preceded and followed by paratexts, end with a *custos* (san-) on page 24. The types of the title page and paratexts clearly differ from the Hebrew text and Latin translation, which has led us to believe that the latter were not printed in Tartu in the same time and were bound between the title page and paratexts later. The answer to the problem comes from Sweden: the same (i.e. Pastelberg's) part of the series was issued again in Stockholm in 1711 with a slightly different title: *DCXIlI legum Hebraeorum pars prima ductu rabbi Jehuda Lebh Schverlensis etc* and the whole edition of *Sefer hakham lev* appeared as dissertations in Lund in 1719-1728. Johanna Akujärvi has compared the prints of the 1711 Stockholm and 1719 Lund editions with the Tartu copy and confirmed that the print of the Hebrew text and Latin translation in Tartu from 1709 is identical to the one in the 1711 Stockholm edition. Therefore, we cannot exclude the plausible possibility that the later print was bound in between the original Pärnu print, which only included the title pages and paratexts, and had functioned as an invitation to the disputation.[44]

The print (both in 1709 and in 1711) appeared without any credit or reference to Kemper. The colleague mentioned in the introduction to the print is the professor of Greek and Hebrew Ericus Fahlenius:

> *Videlicet quoniam substrata materies non directè pertinet ad Spartam, quâ per Dei gratiam defungor, sed eam sibi vindicat & asserit LL. Orient. & Gr. Professor, Dominus* ERICUS FAHLENIUS*, in omni literatura Orientali tantam consecutus nominis celebritatem [...] tantumq[ue] mihi favit Amplissimus Collega, ut non tantum labores meos maximopere probarit, sed et vehementer stimulaverit, ut ansam edendi publicandiq[ue] anquirerem.* (Schulten & Pastelbergh 1709, sig. A4r-A4v)

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[44] Schulten & Pastelberger 1709. For the 1711 print, see Eshkult, 2007, p. 71; for the fate of Schulten's translation and the genre of translation dissertations, which flourished into the nineteenth century, see Akujärvi 2021.

> Clearly, since the underlying matter belongs indirectly to the
> task, which I have finished with the Help of God, but which
> is rightfully claimed to himself and defended by the Professor
> of Oriental Languages and Greek, Ericus Fahlenius, whose
> name has received such fame in the whole field of Oriental
> literature [...] so much my greatest Colleague has favored
> me that he has not only given a great approval to my works,
> but also actively exhorted me to take the task of editing and
> publishing.

Gustav Rauch has wondered about the absence of protests from
the Professor of Hebrew, Ericus Fahlenius, for this interference
into his field – perhaps this quite lengthy *hommage* to Fahlenius
in the introduction to the disputation, covering about a page,
helps to explain his indulgence.[45] What makes this print excep-
tional and relevant also for the Estonian context is a poem writ-
ten by Schulten in Estonian in praise of the Hebrew language.
The poem, comprising 16 stanzas in alexandrines, is the lengthiest
example of early educated poetry in Estonian. It praises Hebrew
for its antiquity, for being the language of God, the Sacred Scrip-
tures and the Prophets, and compares Hebrew to a source which
gives the clearest and sweetest water:

> *Sest ninda sammoti, kui hallikas meil anna*
> *Se keigke maggusamb, ja keike selgemb wett,*
> *Ninda Ebrea keel kaa pöha kirrja Sanna,*
> *Meil annap selgemast keik töiste keeled ett.*
> (third stanza of the poem in Schulten & Pastelbergh 1709)

> Exactly like a spring that gives us
> The sweetest and the clearest water
> Does the Hebrew language give us
> The Holy Script clearer than any other language.

Schulten also suggests that the periods of neglect of this language
have been harmful, and that even Luther himself had regretted that
he could not study with rabbis in his youth. After this, Schulten

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[45] Rauch 1943, p. 351. The duties of the professors at the academies were
strictly limited: for example, the professors of languages did not preside over
disputations in theology or law. Thus Schulten as a professor of philosophy and
history should also not have presided over a translation disputation which should
have been the concern of the professor of Hebrew. For translation disputations,
see Akujärvi 2021.

expresses his happiness that Johann Pastelberger has undertaken the task of presenting Rabbi Lebh's work in Latin and proceeds with the praise of the Church until the end of the poem.

4. *The Significance of the Study of Biblical Languages*

On June 3, 1644 a student of the *Academia Gustaviana*, Christian Jhering (Lilliering; 1629-1697), presented an oration *De Hebraea, Graeca et Latina lingua* ('On the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages') in Tartu (Jhering 1644). The choice of the subject was in tune with both his family connections and future career prospects,[46] but even more important was its date of delivery: according to the Julian calendar (in use in Sweden till 1700), it was the Friday before Pentecost. The introduction to the speech by the professor of rhetoric of the Academy, Laurentius Ludenius (Lorenz Luden; 1592 Eckenförde, Schleswig-1654 Tartu; see Kaju 2007), presents some ideas about language teaching (Jhering 1644, sig. A2r-A2v):

(1) Initially men were characterized by ὁμογλωσσία ('unity of language') and ὁμόνοια ('unity of thought'), as they all spoke the same language, were friendly, and united in their praise of God (referring to Gen. 11:6: 'the whole earth had *one language* and *one speech*'). However, this unity and understanding between different peoples had been destroyed by the σύγχυσις ('confusion') of languages by God as punishment for building the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1-9).

(2) The gift of God on the day of Pentecost, when people were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke all languages (Act. 2:1-4), was a new σύγχυσις of languages, but this fusion, in contrast to the one in Babel, was positive, serving the unity of people in faith.

In the middle of these references to the Bible *loci* of the week, Ludenius also hints at the pleasure of learned men who com-

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[46] His father, Joachim Jhering, was the bishop of Tallinn (Reval); his brothers-in-law were Nicolaus Laurentii Nycopensis (Aritander), the professor of logic at the *Academia Aboensis* and afterward bishop of Viipuri, and Petrus Turdinus, the pastor of the Swedish church in Tallinn. Jhering himself worked later in Tallinn as a court assessor and secretary for the Estonian governor-general: see Tering 1984, p. 107-108; Klöker 2005, vol. 1, p. 686-687.

pare the roots of words in diverse languages that emanated from a common source, but returns soon to the subject of the importance of the holy languages: God the Father had chosen Hebrew and Greek for his Old and New Testament, and a third, Latin, for spreading the message of faith in the Roman Empire, and all three languages were present together on the Holy Cross (Luc. 23:38). Ludenius stresses the idea of unity in diversity, arguing that in the praise of God and Christ all people are united, although they speak different languages. He also stresses that the holy languages are the most important instruments of preservation and recognition of the true doctrine of Salvation.

After this introduction by Ludenius and a brief praise of his student, the oration by Jhering follows, presenting accepted and well-known truths as a student oration in the Faculty of Philosophy was supposed to do, yet also succeeding in adding some local flavor. Jhering expands the main points given by his professor, stressing the general usefulness of language, and giving examples of speaking multiple languages (Tower of Babel, King Nimrod, Mithridates). He also thanks God for the diversity of languages, a result of His gift at Pentecost, in the Swedish ('Sveo-Gothan') state and the Academy of Dorpat. In the main part of the speech, Jhering makes a new distinction between the three sacred languages and the others: only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which were on the Holy Cross, are to be counted as *linguae cardinales* ('principal languages'), because they maintain the flourishing of the salvatory teaching and keep mankind from sin:

> *dum in vera Dei Ecclesia efflorescit, quod salutaris fidei doctrina floreat, et ab errorum corruptela, Auspice Christo [...] vindicetur.* (Jhering 1644, sig. B1r)

> As long as it starts to flourish in the true Church of God, let the salvatory teaching of belief flourish and be saved from the corruption of sins under the guidance of Christ.

Although German and Slavonic languages are most important as the 'door' (*Ianua*) to the world in the physical or geographical sense,[47] they should not be counted as *linguae cardinales*. In this way Jhering departs slightly from the idea of four cardinal lan-

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[47] *Germanica and Sclavonica [...] ianua [...] per vastissima terrarum climata transire licebit.*

guages (including the three main cardinal languages Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and a vernacular, German), presented for example in Georg Cruciger's *Harmonia linguarum* (1616) or in the treatises of the Magdeburg professor and gymnasium rector Sigmund Evenius (1587-1639), who had both a direct and indirect (via his students from Sweden) impact on studies at the Academy of Tartu.[48] It is also interesting that he refers to modern languages as *Ianuae*, partly in tune with Comenius' famous manual which appeared in many languages, but reserving a different place for Latin (the original language of Comenius' *Ianua*) among the cardinal languages and apart from modern languages.

Following a discussion of the meaning of 'tongue' (*lingua*) in general, Jhering proceeds by enumerating different specific languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Swedish, Gothic, Estonian, Finnish, etc., and mentioning the languages spoken and studied by his audience, Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic, Syriac, Greek, Latin, German, French, 'Sveo-Gothic' (i.e. Swedish), Polish, Muscovite (i.e. Russian), Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, and others. His list quite accurately reflects the actual use of languages in the paratexts from the Academia Gustaviana (discussed in Kriisa 2018). The third part of his narration is the lengthiest, presenting a survey of five eras of Hebrew, four of Greek, and four of Latin, each period represented by famous authors or scholars.[49] After this historical part, Jhering returns to the subject of the study of the sacred languages and provides its main reason, the pleasure they provide and their sweetness:

> *Quid, quaeso, suavius cogitari possit quam in Sancta ipsius Dei lingua loqui posse? Quid dulcius, quam Graecos Authores, ipsum Novum Testamentum in Graeca Lingua descriptum, & alios praeclaros Graecos authores, in originali Lingua legere & intelligere?* (Jhering 1644, sig. C2r)

[48] The idea of regarding the three sacred languages as *linguae cardinales* was not new: see Sennert's congratulation in Scholius 1530, sig. D¹ (using also the phrase *linguae capitales*). For the practice in Magdeburg, reflecting general tendencies in Germany, see Nahrendorf 2015, p. 273-277 (and passim on teaching Greek and Hebrew). On Evenius' influence on Estonian education, see Põldvee 2011. With respect to teaching Greek and promoting the practice of Greek disputations, see Päll 2021.

[49] Jhering does not omit any of the commonplaces about Greek: the *non leguntur* in the West, the corruption of the language in Greece (due to Turkish and Slavonic influences), and the transfer of studies (and Empire) beyond the Alps.

What could be considered sweeter than to be able to speak in the holy language of God himself? What could be sweeter than to read and understand the Greek authors, the New Testament itself which was written in Greek, and other famous Greek authors in the original language?

Next, following a brief argument concerning the general utility of the study of the holy languages, he returns to the arguments of their presence on the Holy cross and their role as keepers of the true doctrine of salvation. The speech ends with a prayer celebrating Pentecost and asking for God's grace and the donation of the Holy Spirit, ending with the following words: *thus we shall become the Temple of the Holy Spirit, we will be able to speak of his greatness in modern languages and make progress in studies.*[50]

Conclusions

Although the shift of emphasis toward one or the other language depended on the interests and background of the respective professor, there was a general tendency that at the *Academia Gustaviana* the study of Greek and the New Testament prevailed, whereas at the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* the professors seemed to be more interested in Hebrew and the Old Testament, also including rabbinical literature. This tendency is furthermore corroborated by the decline in the number of Greek poems and disputations in Greek and on the New Testament, and the rise in the number of dissertations in and on Hebrew and the Old Testament in this period. This evolution was probably due to the connections with Dutch universities (especially Utrecht) that at the time had become the pioneers in the study of Hebrew, and also due to the influence of Sweden (Uppsala) – initially, the professors of Greek and Hebrew came from Germany, but in the second part of the first and during the second period, they mostly originated from Sweden.[51] During the first part of the activity of the Tartu Academy we see how the tendencies of

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[50] Jhering 1644, sig. C2v: *Sic Templum Spiritus Sancti erimus, & linguis Novis Magnalia Dei nostri loquemur, & studiose proferemur.*

[51] See above and Tamm, Maadla & Lill 1982, p. 201. The professors from Germany were mostly educated at the University of Rostock, the ones from Sweden at Uppsala or Turku: see Rauch 1943, p. 352-354; Siilivask 1985, p. 29.

teaching Greek and Hebrew are entirely in line with educational trends in the rest of Europe. Firstly, Greek and Latin learning was supported through a growing number of increasingly concise manuals that enabled learners to faster obtain a command, both receptive and productive, of Greek and Hebrew, along with Latin. In this respect, the role of Johannes Gezelius is especially remarkable. Secondly, we see a tendency to seek support to these activities from high-ranking state authorities by dedicating these manuals to them and by glorifying the study of Greek and Hebrew at public festivities. Although initially the students and professors at the University of Tartu originated mostly from Germany and only later from Sweden, these tendencies do not seem to be specifically Swedish or German (or, if they are to be connected initially to Germany, Sweden can be seen as the mediator). Thirdly, one can notice how the teaching of the sacred languages seems to have served both as an instrument for exegesis and as an active means for expressing oneself in poetry. In this respect, the focus seems to have been on Greek studies and the New Testament rather than on Hebrew and the Old Testament.

We see how in the second period of activity the main focus shifts from Greek to Hebrew and Rabbinic studies, due to the influence of several professors who had studied in Uppsala, where Hebrew studies flourished at that moment. It seems that the focus on the active use of language was diminishing, at least among the students, who were considerably less active than the professors in composing speeches and congratulatory texts in Hebrew and similarly excelled less in Greek composition. This decline holds especially true after 1698, when professor G. Skragge departed; it moreover coincides more or less with the move of the Academy from Tartu to Pärnu in 1699, and with the beginning of the Great Northern War in 1700. The latter should also be regarded as contributing to the gradually diminishing devotion to the study of languages. At the same time, a new type of disputation appeared, viz. translation disputation. Probably influenced by ongoing trends at Uppsala University, this kind of disputations mark the development of modern methods of learning ancient languages, which rely heavily on translating and less on active practice of the language.

APPENDIX

I. *Greek Occasional Texts and Poetry from the* Academia Gustaviana *and* Academia Gustavo-Carolina [52]

No	Year	Genre	Author	Prosodic type	Length[53]
Academia Gustaviana					
1	1633	Epicedium	Nicolaus Nycopensis	Elegiacs	34
2	1633	Gratulatio	Nicolaus Nycopensis	Elegiacs	12
3	1633	Ad lectores	Peter Götschen	Hexameter	16
4	1633	Oratio	Peter Götschen	Hexameter	468
5	1633	Gratulatio	Heinrich Vogelmann	Pindaric Ode	42
6	1633	Gratulatio	Petrus Schomerus	Elegiacs	4
7	1633	Gratulatio	Nicolaus Nycopensis	Elegiacs	10
8	1633	Gratulatio	Nicolaus Nycopensis	Hexameter	9
9	1634	Ad lectores	Peter Götschen	Hexameter	24
10	1634	Gratulatio	Nicolaus Nycopensis	Elegiacs	10
11	1634	Gratulatio	Peter Götschen	Hexameter	35

[52] Not counting 14 one-verse metric subscriptions to poems or addresses. Eight Greek disputations and 28 title pages to Greek disputations are also to be considered texts in Humanist Greek.

[53] The lengths are given in lines, with the exception of some longer texts in prose, for which the length is presented in pages (and marked with 'p.').

No	Year	Genre	Author	Prosodic type	Length
12	1636	Gratulatio	Nicolaus Nycopensis	Elegiacs	8
13	1637	Gratulatio	David Cunitius	Hexameter	11
14	1638	Propempticum	David Cunitius	Hexameter	6
15	1638	Gratulatio	David Cunitius	Elegiacs	8
16	1638	Epithalamium	David Cunitius	Hexameter	24
17	1638	Epithalamium	David Cunitius	Elegiacs	6
18	1638	Sceptris	David Cunitius	Hexameter	5
19	1638	Gratulatio	Ericus Matthiae	Elegiacs	6
20	1638	Propempticum	David Cunitius	Elegiacs	6
21	1639	Sceptris	Martin Henschel	Elegiacs	10
22	1641	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	8
23	1642	Epithalamium	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	6
24	1642	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	14
25	1642	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	12
26	1643	Epicedium	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	18
27	1643	Epithalamium	Ericus Harckman	Hexameter	17
28	1643	Epithalamium	Haquinus Platinus	Hexameter	10
29	1644	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	12
30	1645	Gratulatio	Ericus Harckman	Hexameter	10
31	1645	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	6
32	1645	Sceptris	Nicolaus Psilander	Hexameter	14
33	1645	Sceptris	Nicolaus Ahasveri	Hexameter	4
34	1646	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	16
35	1646	Gratulatio	Laurentius Mellerus	Hexameter	6
36	1646	Epicedium	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	14
37	1646	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	6
38	1646	Gratulatio	Laurentius Mellerus	Hexameter	11
39	1646	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	6
40	1646	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	6
41	1646	Gratulatio	Ericus Holstenius	Sapphics	16

No	Year	Genre	Author	Prosodic type	Length
42	1646	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	9
43	1646	Ad lectores	Johannes Gezelius	Prose	1 p.
44	1647	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	10
45	1647	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	8
46	1647	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	12
47	1647	Epicedium	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	10
48	1647	In lauream	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	18
49	1647	In lauream	Olaus Berg	Elegiacs	6
50	1647	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	6
51	1647	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	6
52	1647	Gratulatio	Ericus Holstenius	Elegiacs	8
53	1647	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	9
54	1648	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	10
55	1648	Gratulatio	Olaus Berg	Elegiacs	8
56	1648	Epicedium	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	14
57	1648	Gratulatio	Johannes Gezelius	Hexameter	8
58	1649	Gratulatio	Johannes Stalenus	Hexameter	11
59	1649	Dedicatio	Johannes Gezelius	Prose	4.5 p.
60	1649	Propempticum	Johannes Gezelius	Elegiacs	8
61	1650	Gratulatio	Daniel Gruuf	Hexameter	6
62	1650	Gratulatio	Ericus Holstenius	Elegiacs	6
63	1651	Gratulatio	Ericus Holstenius	Elegiacs	6
64	1651	Gratulatio	Ericus Holstenius	Elegiacs	6
65	1651	In lauream	Ericus Holstenius	Elegiacs	8
66	1651	In lauream	Ericus Holstenius	Elegiacs	6
67	1651	Epithalamium	Ericus Holstenius	Elegiacs	6
68	1652	Gratulatio	Daniel Gruuf	Elegiacs	10
69	1652	Epithalamium	Arnoldus Mahlstedt	Elegiacs	14
70	1652	Epithalamium	Johannes Sundius	Sapphics	36
71	1652	Chronostichon	Johannes Sundius	Elegiacs	2

No	Year	Genre	Author	Prosodic type	Length
72	1652	Epithalamium	Ericus Holstenius	Hexameter	9
73	1652	Epithalamium	Georg Gezelius	Hexameter	11
74	1653	Gratulatio	Johannes Luth	Elegiacs	8
75	1653	Epicedium	Johannes Luth	Hexameter	8
76	1654	Epicedium	Johannes Luth	Elegiacs	4
77	1654	Epicedium	Johannes Luth	Elegiacs	4
78	1654	In lauream	Nicolaus Ekaeus	Elegiacs	2
79	1654	In lauream	Erlandus Hiärne	Hexameter	6
80	1655	Epicedium	Erlandus Hiärne	Hexameter	8
		Academia Gustavo-Carolina			
1	1691	Gratulatio	Nicolaus Wånom	Prose	28
2	1691	Gratulatio	Laurentius Lechander	Prose	30
3	1692	Gratulatio	Johannes Ramnelius	Prose	21
4	1693	Gratulatio	Laurentius Hojerus	Prose	16
5	1695	Gratulatio	Ericus Castelius	Elegiacs	30
6	1695	Gratulatio	Johannes Lundeen	Prose	27
7	1695	Gratulatio	Jonas Örn	Elegiacs	2
8	1696	Gratulatio	Ericus Castelius	Prose	16
9	1696	Gratulatio	Gabriel Hinnel	Prose	10
10	1696	Gratulatio	Olaus Moberg	Elegiacs	6
11	1697	Gratulatio	Heinrich Bartholin	Elegiacs	8
12	1697	Gratulatio	Bernhard Rodde	Prose	13
13	1698	Gratulatio	Ericus Castelius	Prose	12
14	1705	Epicedium	Ingemund Bröms	Elegiacs	4
15	1709	Gratulatio	Bernhard Riesman	Elegiacs	6
	MS (1695)	Chreia	Ericus Castelius	Prose	1 p.
	MS (1695)	Epistula petitoria	Ericus Castelius	Prose	1 p.

II. *Texts in Hebrew and Oriental Languages from the* Academia Gustaviana *and* Gustavo-Carolina

No	Year	Genre	Author
Academia Gustaviana			
1	1633	Oratio	Johannes Weideling
2	1643	Epithalamion	Andreas Megalinus
3	1644	Gratulatio	Tholetus Arvikander
4	1647	Dedicatio	Johannes Gezelius
5	1648	Gratulatio	Laurentius Stalenus
6	1652	Epithalamion	Arnoldus Mahlstede
7	1652	Epithalamion	Johannes Sundius
8	1654	In lauream	Erlandus Hiärne
Academia Gustavo-Carolina			
1	1693	Sceptris	Johannes Mether
2	1696	Gratulatio	Michael Wittenburg
3	1696	Gratulatio	Olaus Moberg
4	1705	Epicedium (Persice)	Ericus Fahlenius
5	1705	Gratulatio	Johannes Kemper
6	1708	Gratulatio	Abraham Dahlmann
7	1709	Gratulatio	Karl Schulten
8	1709	Gratulatio	Karl Schulten
9	1709	Gratulatio	Karl Schulten
	MS (1705)	Gratulatio	Johannes Kemper

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Abstract

This paper discusses the teaching of Greek and Hebrew (so-called Oriental languages) in early modern Estonia, focusing on the *Academia Gustaviana* (in Tartu, 1632-1656) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (in Tartu and Pärnu, 1690-1710). It presents an overview of the pro-

fessors and manuals of Greek and Hebrew, as well as of Greek and Hebrew texts which were produced in the Academy and of the discussions at this institute on the importance of studying the Biblical languages. The study of Greek and the New Testament prevailed at the *Academia Gustaviana*, at first under professors from Germany, then under Johannes Gezelius from Sweden, who was the most eminent Hellenist of the period. Manuals of Greek and Hebrew and many poems and disputations in Greek as well as some texts in Hebrew were produced. This happened mostly in line with education trends in Europe – except perhaps the great importance of disputing in Greek, due to the role of Johannes Gezelius. The sacred languages served both as an instrument for theology and as a means for expressing oneself in poetry. At the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* the professors seem to have been more interested in Hebrew and the Old Testament, also including rabbinical literature, due to the influence of several professors who had studied in Uppsala. The focus on the active use of language was diminishing, especially after professor G. Skragge departed. The beginning of the Great Northern War in 1700 also contributed to the decline of the study of languages.

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GREEK AMONG OTHER ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES

THE CASE OF A HANDWRITTEN GREEK ORATION FROM SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LITHUANIA

Introduction

This paper focuses on an invaluable document, preserved in one late sixteenth-century multilingual manuscript at the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław (Poland) with shelfmark 1137 (henceforth Cod. Oss. 1137, but also known as the Pętkowski Codex).[1] Containing a unique oration in ancient Greek, this source provides evidence of the growth of the 'philhellenic' or 'hellenomathic'[2] movement in early modern Lithuania, and, more specifically, studies of ancient Greek and creative work in this language at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, one of the most promising centers for Greek studies in Eastern and Central Europe at that time – a direct, although remote, precursor of what is now Vilnius University.[3] The text touches upon the problem, prevalent in sixteenth-century Lithuania and Europe, of combining multiple academic disciplines. As is evident from its title (Ὅτι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν τῇ θεολογίᾳ τε λογιότητι καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν συζεύγνυσθαι χρή, εἰς τὴν τῶν σπουδῶν ἀνακαίνωσιν λόγος, παρόντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ Ῥαδιβίλου

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[1] At present, it is best known for containing the Latin poems and versified dialogues by Kasper Pętkowski, on whom see esp. Soczewka 1969 & 1978, Rzegocka 2016, p. 50, n. 31, and in this paper below.

[2] I use this word not as an exact derivative from Modern Greek Ἑλληνομάθεια, but as an epithet referring to a broader (though somewhat parallel) term covering the process of studying the Greek language and culture.

[3] For a brief survey of the history of Vilnius University, see A. Bumblauskas & al. 2004, an excellent edition in English prepared on the initiative of the Office of Information and Public Relations and the Department of the Theory of History and Cultural History at the Faculty of History of Vilnius University.

εἴρηται ἐν τῇ Βίλνῃ) and the last written word (εἴρηκα, Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 170r), the speech was not only written, but also delivered orally at Vilnius Academy during the ceremony of the opening of the new study year.[4] Both the title itself (referring to the benefits of harmonizing philosophy with three study subjects: theology, rhetoric, and Greek literature) and, especially, one statement from this discourse, 'one must, as much as possible, exercise these things thoroughly (or master through hard work)' (fol. 169r),[5] could be interpreted as quite explicit references to the importance of Greek studies – a topic that is in line with the recent zest of research on *Griechischstudium* and *neualtgriechische Literatur*.[6] However, the entire speech covers much more.

In the discussion below, I will first briefly describe the problem of the authorship of the oration. Then I will focus on the contents of the oration, outlining how the author stressed the importance of mastering Greek. And finally, I will discuss intertextual allusions, textual problems, and some contextual issues that indirectly reveal the incentives to study Greek.

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[4] Starting from here, I am quoting the text through a simplified modern transcription, showing only a minimum of editorial marks (in most cases ignoring variation in diacritics, ligatures, and punctuation marks, but sometimes leaving the writer's original spelling between brackets). The English equivalent of this long title would be something like: 'That philosophy must be joined with theology, eloquence, and Greek literature: a speech at the occasion of the renewal of studies, delivered in Vilnius in the presence of Bishop Radvila'.

[5] The original sentence reads: Τὴν δὲ λογιότητα ἐμοῦ | λέγοντος τὴν {τ}ελείαν νοήσατε πρὸς ἣν μὲν μη- | δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀλιγορητέον [*sic* = ὀλιγωρητέον]. | Καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὀλιγορητέον [*sic* = ὀλιγωρητέον], ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οἷόν τε | περὶ ταῦτα διαπονητέον'. The approximate translation into English is: 'And while I am talking about eloquence, you should imagine the perfect kind, in respect of which even the Greek culture must not be neglected. And not only must it not be neglected, but one must, as much as possible, exercise these things thoroughly'.

[6] Apart from various mentions of Greek orations by famous Greek, Italian, French, or German humanists in general surveys of the humanist movement and the activity of Byzantine scholars in Venice and Italy (esp. Geanakoplos 1989, p. 74; Ciccolella 2008, p. 76 & 247), there is a growing number of recent studies that make important observations on the long-lasting practice of delivering Humanist Greek speeches concerning various subjects and the parallel phenomenon of delivering Neo-Latin speeches in praise of the Classical Greek language and literature. These include both papers and monographs on particular orations (such as Geanakoplos 1974; Papademetriou 2000; Wilson 2003; Quillien 2007) and studies with broader observations of regional-based scope (Lamers 2015; Weise 2016; Minaoglou 2018; Sironen 2018).

1. *Genesis of the Codex and Authorship of the Oration*

Comprising nine pages, the Greek oration, composed at Vilnius Academy, forms a relatively small part of the aforementioned multilingual codex containing more than 400 pages with texts in Latin, Greek, and Polish.[7] The official library title refers only to the poetical part of the document, while two older titles – a Polish and a Greek one – in two different hands are present, too.[8] This codex, formerly owned by the Jesuit Professed House at Cracow, was first studied, mentioned, and described by nineteenth and twentieth-century Polish scholars.[9] Lithuanian academic readers only recently became aware of its existence, mainly thanks to the research work of Paulius Rabikauskas and Eugenija Ulčinaitė, who were nevertheless greatly indebted to the investigations of their Polish colleagues.[10]

The history of the codex was elucidated most comprehensively by Aleksander Soczewka in his Polish monograph on the Latin dialogues of this document (Soczewka 1978). Of the various interesting details presented in this book, we can only mention a few details here. Scholars tend to ascribe the authorship of the

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[7] Its size is octavo, 198 mm × 142 mm. The digital copy of this codex is available at the Lower Silesian Digital Library (see the bibliography for the URL).

[8] 'Wiersze łacińskie, greckie i polskie, oraz dyalogi pisane w szkole OO. Jezuitów w Wilnie' (Kętrzyński 1898, p. 406, no. 1137). Translation into English: 'Latin, Greek and Polish verses as well as dialogues of the Jesuit Fathers in Vilna [= Vilnius]'. The Polish title, inscribed on the second empty page of the manuscript, runs as follows: 'Rękopism złożony z dzieł kilku XX Jezuytow [= księży Jezuitów]. / X. [= Ksiądz] K. Ostrowski KKKr [? = kanonik kapituły krakowskiej?]'. The very last words and letters are slightly differently interpreted by Soczewka 1978, p. 56: 'X. P. Pstrowski K. K. M.'. An approximate translation into English: 'Manuscript consisting of works of several Jesuit priests. / Priest K. Ostrowski, CCC [? = canon of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter?]'. The Greek title, written on the first page of the codex which is provided with a folio number (Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 1r), has both general and specific messages (quoted here in a simplified and normalized transcription): 1) 'Τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ ἡμῶν μαθητῶν, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀλίγα τινὰ μέτρα καὶ ἄλλαι ῥαψωδίαι σὺν τῇ θεοῦ χάριτι' and 2) 'Ἐν ἀρχῇ τινων μαθητῶν | ὀλιγορητέα [= ὀλιγωρητέα]'.

[9] Juszyński 1820, p. 53-54; Kętrzyński 1898, p. 406; Korbut 1917, p. 506; Lewański 1956, p. 52-54; Poplatek 1957, p. 184; Soczewka 1969, p. 115-117.

[10] The first short mention of this document in the Lithuanian reading area appeared in 1964 in the article by Paulius Rabikauskas (1964, p. 473-481; repr.: Rabikauskas 2002, p. 389-405, esp. p. 398); more details are provided by Eugenija Ulčinaitė (esp. Ulčinaitė 2001b, p. 177; Ulčinaitė & Jovaišas 2003, p. 275; Ulčinaitė 2008, p. 25-27).

majority of the works in the codex to one person, viz. Kasper Pętkowski (Kaspar/Gaspar Pętkowski; Gasparus Pentcovius, 1554-1612), a member of the Jesuit order who worked in the colleges of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the 1570s until the 1590s, although there is also a general consensus that the codex contains texts of more than one hand.[11] Pentkowski's Latin hand is considered to cover about two thirds (68.5%) of the document, starting from about the fol. 75.[12]

The authorship of the Greek texts has, however, never been scrutinized. There is plenty of evidence that Pętkowski was proficient in Classical Greek: he was active as a professor of Greek at Vilnius Academy (1581-1583; Soczewka 1978, p. 23), had a predilection for giving Greek titles to most of his works (including the Latin ones). His knowledge of Greek is confirmed by comments of his contemporaries (Soczewka 1978, p. 16, 31, 39, 48) and is implied by his translation from Greek into Polish of the resolutions of the Council of Florence (1439) published in 1608.[13] His command of Greek is moreover manifested in the printed Greek epigram (addressed to his patron and the instigator of the translation) inserted in the same book – the only one with an indication of his name.[14] A few Greek comments written to Pętkowski's dialogues (on these, see Soczewka 1978, p. 77 & 85) seem to be the best evidence to link this person to (part of) the Greek texts of this codex.[15] And yet, until we have more convin-

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[11] Basically, under the influence of the earlier statements of Jan Poplatek (1957, p. 184) and Soczewka (1969, p. 115-117), and the later statements of the latter.

[12] According to A. Soczewka (1978, p. 51-55 & 70), based on the results of the original research by J. Lewański (1956, p. 52-54) and J. Poplatek (1957, p. 184). Their argumentation is convincing, but requires a more detailed comparison of this codex and a couple of Pętkowski's autographs (which are, however, hard to come by).

[13] *Swięty á Powszechny Sobor we Florenciey odprawiony. Abo Unia z Grekámi. Spisány ode trzech Kośćiołá Greckie<go> ná to od nich sámych wysádzonych Pisárzow: ktory Po łáćinie iest trochę skrocony. A tu się z Grieckiego ná Polskie własnie przekłáda ná żądánie Je<go> M. X. Biskupá Przemysłskiego Kánclerzá Koronnego: Nominatá Kuiáwskiego: y nakłádem iego wydáie się.* W Krakowie: W Drukárni Mikołáiá Lobá Roku Páńskiego, 1608.

[14] Cf. Soczewka 1978, p. 94, and my unpublished PhD dissertation, Veteikis 2004, p. 80-81.

[15] Soczewka 1978, passim and esp. p. 71, quotes Greek titles of the Latin dialogues of the cod. Oss. 1137, believing firmly that they are added by the same hand

cing evidence based on graphological analysis, it is better to state that the authorship of the speech (as well as other Greek poems in the codex) remains uncertain.[16]

According to Soczewka, the codex originated at the Vilnius Jesuit College, with the first texts being written around the year 1577 and the last datable texts in 1587-1589. Most likely, the paper came from a local papermaking workshop situated in Vilnius.[17] The creation of a codex of this kind was in line with the general and specific requirements for the officials of the Jesuit order, and probably approved by the Rector of the Vilnius Jesuit College.[18] Eventually the codex somehow reached Kasper Pętkowski during his stay at the same school, possibly through the mediation of a library secretary. At that moment, already one third of the document's pages (up to fol. 74v) were filled with texts, several of which contained the names of their authors (indicated at the end of each work).[19] As can be assumed from Soczewka's

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(Kasper Pętkowski). He also has no doubts that the correcting hand in the earlier part of the codex is that of Pętkowski (Soczewka 1978, p. 77).

[16] Had Pętkowski been unanimously regarded as the author of part of the Greek poems of the Cod. Oss. 1137, I believe that this fact would have been registered in the section headed with his name in the first anthology of Polish Greek poetry (Czerniatowicz 1991, p. 152). Moreover, if someone would (or someday will conclusively) clarify that Kasper Pętkowski is actually the person who composed this speech (the level of probability is high enough), the very fact that the Greek title of the codex (on which see footnote 8 above) alludes to the writings of the professor's disciples still leaves room for the possibility that the professor only wrote down the speech as a school exercise of one of his students.

[17] Soczewka 1978, p. 55 & 64. The identification made by Soczewka 1978, p. 67, n. 8, although with a somewhat inaccurate reference, is based on the monograph of Edmundas Laucevičius who outlined the history of papermaking in Lithuania (including valuable information on the first paper mills in Vilnius; Laucevičius 1967, vol. 1, p. 51-107 & 277-283) and made a comprehensive list of watermarks found in various handwritten and printed documents from fifteenth-eighteenth-century Lithuania (Laucevičius, vol. 1, p. 174-233 with concise bibliographical references; vol. 2, p. 5-577 offering copies of the watermarks).

[18] Poplatek 1957, p. 47-49; Soczewka 1978, p. 65; Okoń 1967, p. 185. The Rector's approval can be inferred from some observations concerning the Polish part of this codex and its context (local practice of the leading academic officials): see Piechnik 1984, p. 88.

[19] The authors of several poetical works in the Cod. Oss. 1137 are identified by Polish scholars already: Jacobus Safarnius/Safranius (Jakub Szafarzyński) (fol. 19r), Laurentius Maniukiewicz (fol. 43v), Paulus Piotrowski (?) (fol. 44r), Petrus Kwiatowski (fol. 48r), Joannes Sapieha (fol. 48r & 55v), David Bryndza (fol. 48v), Valentinus Babski (fol. 58v). The identity of several others who left

argument, Pętkowski started writing at the bottom of the folio 74v and wrote with various breaks, without strict or coherent sequence up to the last page (fol. 219v). He is also credited with having revised all the texts and having made emendations and insertions (*inter alia*, Greek titles of previously written works). At some point (but not earlier than 1621; Soczewka 1978, p. 56) the codex travelled to Cracow and came into the possession of the Professed house near St Barbara's Church (as can be inferred from several inscribed provenance marks), and hence (at a much later time) to the Ossolineum, the prominent scientific institute and library, established by Józef Maksymiljan Ossoliński (1748-1826) in 1817 in Lviv (also called Lwów; today a Ukrainian city, then belonging to the Austrian Empire), from whence it was transferred to its current location in the Polish city of Wrocław in about 1946.[20]

The Greek oration is one of the most remarkable Greek texts in the codex, and is only a little less extensive than the Greek poetical compositions combined (219 vs. 254 lines according to my counting). The oration presents a more sophisticated syntax and idiom than the short poetical pieces, which, according to Soczewka's (1978, p. 58-62) analysis, exhibit a variety of literary forms and cover 100 folios out of 219. In second place there is also a variety of versified dialogues and excerpts from dramas (about 70 folios). Prose texts come in third (with over 30 folios). From the point of view of language, Latin texts occupy about 91.3% of the total written space of the document, while Greek texts constitute only 6.4%, and Polish 2.3%.[21] These percentages roughly reflect the general Jesuit school situation, the curricula basically being Latin-dominated and focused on producing small-sized poems in Latin and Greek.

their names in abbreviated form remains uncertain, and so does the contribution made by a certain Joannes Leopolita, mentioned without exact reference by A. Soczewka (1978, p. 57).

[20] A concise history of the Ossolineum is available online at ‹https://wydawnictwo.ossolineum.pl/home/en/› [last accessed March 11, 2021]. For a more detailed analysis of the fate of the collections one can consult a number of papers by Maciej Matwijów, for instance Matwijów 1995-1996, p. 31-46.

[21] In addition, the codex contains one sentence in Hebrew (fol. 92v). Cf. Soczewka 1978, p. 62.

2. *The Date of the Greek Oration and Its Historical Background*

The date of the oration is not clearly indicated in the manuscript, but can be approximately estimated from some indirect information on the date of the codex in its entirety, the supposed author, and persons or facts mentioned in the oration. It may have been composed sometime in the early 1580s, most probably between 1581 and 1583, during Pętkowski's teaching of Greek at the Vilnius Academy. A later date could be possible, too, since the latest identifiable date of the Latin texts is 1587-1589 (Soczewka 1978, p. 63-64). However, if we take a look at the information in the final part of the title (ʽπαρόντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ Ῥαδιβίλου εἴρηται ἐν τῇ Βίλνῃʼ) of the speech, we would arrive at a similar yet even more precise date, through the reference to George Radvila (Lithuanian: Jurgis Radvila; Polish: Jerzy Radziwiłł; 1556-1600), bishop of Vilnius, member of the most prominent Lithuanian noble family of the time, son of the famous Calvinist Nicholas Radvila the Black (1515-1565), and younger brother of the famous traveler and Catholic convert Nicholas Christopher Radvila the Orphan (1549-1616). The fact that the speech was performed in the presence of this young churchman indicates that this event probably occurred in the time span between 1581 and 1591, when he held the bishopric of Vilnius. Meanwhile, the fact that there is not a single mention of Radvila's cardinalship would narrow the time span of the actual event down to between 1581 and 1584.[22] From this timeframe we may infer that either the first Rector of Vilnius Academy, Piotr Skarga (1579-1582), or his colleague Vice-Rector Paulius Bokša (Paweł Boksza, Paulus Boxa; 1582-1585), or both of them were present at this particular celebration of the start of the new schoolyear.

At this particular time, Lithuania, or more broadly the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, must have already seen quite a num-

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[22] George Radvila was raised to the cardinalship by Pope Gregory XIII on December 12 or 14(?), 1583, but it was not until late January of the next year that this message reached him in Lithuania, and only in the summer of 1586 (June 26) did he finally acquire full honors from Pope Sixtus V. Cf. Jatulis 1972, p. 258-259 (December 12); Ulčinaitė 2001a, p. 17 (December 14).

ber of men versed in ancient Greek in different confessional areas (Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant) and certainly some literary fruits of their studies.[23] Until about the middle of the sixteenth century, Greek studies in Lithuania depended on individual efforts and initiatives: members of the ruling elite and nobility studied abroad or hired teachers originating from Western Europe. But soon an intensive interconfessional struggle for the influence over the administration and education of the Polish and Lithuanian regions arose, and all the leading Christian confessions started creating school networks and sought to institute their own universities. In political terms, the Catholics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth found themselves in the most favorable situation, having the support of the King (and Grand Duke), a network of long-acting dioceses, and the oldest university in the region, Cracow Academy (established in 1364, re-established in 1400) – an institution with a tradition of Greek teaching, especially after the two waves of the humanist movement in 1490-1520 and 1540-1550.

After the establishment of a second school for higher education in Vilnius in 1579, the conditions for the study of Greek language and culture in Lithuania and Poland reached their peak: both universities, together with a network of other gymnasia and colleges (such as the *Lubranscianum*, established in 1518), the secular *Academia Zamosciana* (since 1595) as well as certain individual monastic schools and seminaries exerted the greatest influence in the spread of Greek studies in Catholic milieus of the region. In Protestant areas, two initiatives at schools in Vilnius are worthy of mention: the short-lived Lutheran gymnasium of Abraomas Kulvietis (Abraham Culvensis; *c.* 1510-1545), a *trilinguis homo*, and the Calvinist school of Nicholas Radvila the Black, father of the abovementioned George Radvila. The former (active only in 1541-1542) induced the emigration of part of the

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[23] The complicated matter of the contribution of representatives of different Christian denominations to the promotion of Hellenic studies in Lithuania is discussed in my dissertation (Veteikis 2004, p. 18-44). One may have a look at modern collections of sixteenth and seventeenth-century 'Neo-Paleo-Greek' poetry by Polish and Lithuanian authors (Czerniatowicz 1991; Veteikis 2004, p. 234-261) for a rough picture of the Greek output in Lithuania before the oration.

Lithuanian Protestant population to the Duchy of Prussia and contributed to the creation of the University of Königsberg on the initiative of Duke Albert (1490-1568) – Kulvietis was its first professor of Greek – while the latter, experiencing various ups and downs, survived until 1640.[24] These Protestant schools also had ties with important foreign and local centers of Greek studies, such as the academic gymnasia in Elbing (since 1535), Gdańsk/ Danzig (since 1558), Toruń/Thorn (since 1568), Pińczów (1550-1564), Cracow (since 1565), and Lewartów (1565-1588). Even the radical reformers (Arians), before their forced expulsion in the middle of the seventeenth century, who assembled mostly in Cracow, Raków, Lewartów (from 1588 onward), Gdansk, and Yvia, boasted important Hellenists, who are, however, better known for their focus on philological work rather than for their teaching activities.[25] Lastly, the latter half of the sixteenth century witnessed an increased interest in the classical languages in the school curricula of Orthodox segments of the Polish-Lithuanian population, too, basically organized by fraternities of the numerous Orthodox communities in Lviv, Vilnius, Kiev, Mogiliov, Brest, and Minsk.[26]

All of the mentioned centers of education displayed at least one of the multifarious aspects of early modern Classical Greek learning: they either offered courses on Greek language and literature (usually in second place after Latin or Church Slavonic); possessed a significant amount of editions of Greek authors, Greek lexicons, and Greek grammars in their libraries; or part of their professors and students showed their proficiency in Classical Greek through their scholarly works (philosophical treatises, translations, letters, exercises) and the creation and publication of poetical works on various occasions.

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[24] On Lutheran education in Lithuania, and on Kulvietis in particular, see esp. Lukšaitė 1999, p. 135-145; Veteikis 2004, p. 29-33; Pociūtė 2005; Pociūtė 2015, p. 148-149. On Radvila's school in Vilnius, see Lukšaitė 1999, p. 468-473; Bagińska 2012, p. 61-62.

[25] For a recent account, see Pietkiewicz 2017. On their schools see Lukšaitė 1999, esp. p. 479-480.

[26] Greek studies at the school of the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood are surveyed in Veteikis 2004, p. 37-40.

We have plenty of direct and indirect evidence for all these activities, but the handwritten Greek oration which concerns us here is a witness of a rare and rather extraordinary activity, hardly expected to occur in an area so far away from Byzantium and other major centers with long-standing traditions of Greek learning.[27] The oral delivery of the speech required much effort, intensive training, great concentration, and especially an excellent command of the language. When undertaking his enterprise, the author might have benefitted from the general interconfessional tension and educational competition common throughout Europe, the promotion of school curricula with a distinct place for Greek studies, and creative exercises in the Jesuit educational system as well as the support of the local ruling elite, Maecenases, churchmen, and visiting intellectuals.[28]

In short, the Greek speech under discussion was produced during the acme of Humanist Greek studies in Lithuania, lasting roughly six decades starting from the 1570s.[29]

3. *Survey of the Structure and Contents of the Oration*

The title and contents indicate that this discourse has characteristics of the epideictic (or even encomiastic) and protreptic genre.[30]

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[27] For another example of a late sixteenth-century Greek oration from the Baltic area, cf. the Jesuit college at Dorpat (Tartu) which was closely associated to the Jesuits from Vilnius, see Päll 2004, p. 89; Päll 2018, p. 73. Such orations are usually regarded as student speeches serving to demonstrate their success in learning (Päll 2018, p. 73-74 with references in the footnotes).

[28] The Polish Kings and Lithuanian Grand Dukes (esp. Sigismund August, Stephen Batory, and Sigismund III Vasa), members of such families as the Radvilas, the Khodkevichi, the Ostrogski, the Zamojski, and the bishops of Cracow, Vilnius, and Poznań were among the most popular addressees and inspirators of Greek poetry. This patronage is quite noticeable in the anthology of Polish Greek poetry (Czerniatowicz 1990). Papal legates working on missions in Poland and the Baltic countries (Stanislaus Hosius, Antonio Possevino) contributed considerably, too. For example, one of the Greek poems of the Cod. Oss. 1137 commemorates Antonio Possevino's visit to the famous Warmian town of Braunsberg (Braniewo) and its early Jesuit College, the first place where Pętkowski taught Greek (Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 143v-144r).

[29] Or about nine decades (starting from 1540s), if we also take the Polish context into consideration.

[30] For the definition of epideictic rhetoric and its relation to the genre of the encomium, see *inter alia* Pepe 2013, p. 395-396. I accept the general definition

As an epideictic oration, it is related to a certain occasion and ceremonial event, since it was performed in the presence of reputable persons from the local academic community, of whom only the bishop of Vilnius, George Radvila, is mentioned by name, and – as in most epideictic speeches – it contains the topos of estimating values (praising virtues, blaming vices). As a protreptic oration, the speech is addressed to the youth, providing reflections on what is useful and which measures should be taken.

The structure of the speech is not complicated. The whole oration can easily be divided into three main blocks of different sizes: the exordium (προοίμιον), the main body of disquisition consisting of several topic-based passages, and the conclusion (ἐπίλογος). In the exordium, the orator attempts to motivate why he selected the topic of his speech and formulates the problem. He refers to the annual academic tradition of giving laudatory or exhortatory speeches ('οἱ ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ ἢ προτρεπτικοὶ λόγοι') in order to justify his own speech in praise of studies for the encouragement of the students. By mentioning a certain third type of studies, or exercises, that distinguishes the Vilnius Academy and other Christian academies from other types of academies, the speaker gives important clues needed to understand his point of view. Perhaps, as I shall discuss later, here either theology, as the most prominent discipline, or, more broadly, the usual type of Jesuit education which covers the studies of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, is meant. The speaker expresses the idea that although most men limit themselves to one of these arts, only the mastering of all of them leads one to both a perfect reputation (εὐφημίαν τελείαν) and true happiness (ἀληθῆ εὐδαιμονίαν). Other branches of knowledge do not spoil the fullness of erudition, but the speaker feels free to confine himself to the analysis of the need to combine only the mentioned three disciplines (rhetoric, philosophy, and theology).

The main body of the oration discusses the significance of each of these disciplines and their interrelation. Treating his subject rather freely and selectively, the speaker starts explicitly from

of the protreptic by David E. Aune (1991, p. 91): 'The λόγος προτρεπτικός, or "speech of exhortation", is a lecture intended to win converts and attract young people to a particular way of life', although I also agree that its relation to the sphere of epideictic rhetoric is problematic.

theology and its relation to philosophy. Without the former, he argues, the latter is mutilated and curtailed (κολοβός), apparently alluding to topics where both fields border each other and set forth different points of view.

The speaker presents a critique of classical pagan philosophy, specifically the doctrines which do not take seriously into account such dogmas as God's eternal existence, God's omnipotence, Divine providence, and God's grace and protection. He derides a number of 'exotic' views of the ancient Greek philosophers as inconsistent with the Christian faith: he neither excludes the most influential thinkers such as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus, nor abstains from enumerating less renowned ones like Diagoras, Euhemerus, and Dicaearchus. He advocates Christian philosophy, which reconciles the ideas of pagan philosophers and Christian theology. This discussion ends with a somewhat obscure statement, virtually undeveloped, that Christian theology is nevertheless not self-sufficient, 'at least in view of the natural order' (κατὰ τήν γε φυσικὴν τάξιν), i.e. (in my current tentative interpretation) from a God-centered perspective:

> Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ θεολογία τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀποστε- | ρουμένη κατὰ τήν γε φυσικὴν τάξιν, δι᾽ ἑαυτὴν ἱ- | [fol. 168 verso] κανός ἐστι, ὅτι τοῦτο πάσης ἀμφισβητήσεως κρεῖτ- | τόν ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτα λείψομαι ἑῶ [*sic pro* ἐῶ] διαλεξόμενος.[31]

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[31] 'And concerning the fact that even theology detached from philosophy is not self-sufficient, at least in view of the natural order, because this thing is stronger than the whole controversy, I will quit discussing these things, too'. I have adapted the punctuation in this complicated passage. The phrase 'κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν τάξιν' recalls a passage from St John of Damascus' dialogue *Contra Manichaeos* 82-83, where the Orthodox Christian (one of the interlocutors) tells the Manichean that the 'natural order' (φυσικὴ τάξις) means to desire fame and recognition from God and the unnatural order means to desire fame and recognition from each other (that is, from human beings): Ἄχρι γὰρ ἁμαρτίας ἡδονὴ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς φύσεως· αὕτη δὲ διττή, ἢ ψυχικὴ ἢ σωματική· καὶ ψυχικὴ μὲν ἡ τῆς δόξης ἔφεσις, σωματικὴ δὲ βρῶσις, πόσις, ἄνεσις σώματος, ὕπνος, συνουσία γυναικῶν. Ταῦτα πάντα φυσικὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ κτίσαντος γινόμενα, κακὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦ κτίσαντος καὶ τὴν φυσικὴν τάξιν καὶ χρῆσιν. Φυσικὴ δὲ τάξις τὸ ἐφίεσθαι τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δόξης, τὸ δὲ τῆς παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων δόξης ἐφίεσθαι παρὰ φύσιν· θεῷ γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ φύσει δοξαστῷ πρέπει ἡ παρὰ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ δόξα, ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ ταπεινοῦσθαι θεῷ ὡς δημιουργῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦ κτίσαντος'. The word λείψομαι is underlined in the manuscript, and it is probable that it was meant to be crossed out (my genuine thanks to one of the reviewers for noticing this).

The speech then moves on to the arguments for the utility of elo-
quence in the transmission, defense, and dissemination of philo-
sophical and theological tenets (doctrines). The author praises
eloquence for helping to give moral instructions, incite emotions,
and defend one's worldview and faith. The primary examples
are taken from Early Christian authors, the first three in the
sequence being Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, and
John Chrysostom.

In the third and final step in the discussion, conclusively con-
necting the three disciplines, the author promotes the idea of aim-
ing at 'perfect eloquence' (τὴν τελείαν λογιότητα). In this section
of the speech, a comprehensive knowledge of the Greek lan-
guage, literature, and culture (into which much effort must be
invested – διαπονητέον) is put forward as a prerequisite part of the
studies of every successful speaker. To corroborate this thought,
the author relies firstly on the example of ancient Roman authors
versed in Greek (e.g. Cicero, L. Licinius Crassus, Marcus Anto-
nius, Virgil, Livy), secondly on the popular philhellenic argument
that the Greeks were the first inventors of sciences, and thirdly
on the belief that knowledge of Latin is not as effective in coping
with other disciplines as knowledge of Greek is.

Finally, the author highlights the superiority of the Greek
language over Latin in terms of its stylistic charm, and emphasizes
its actuality in the context of Hellenophonic polemics (note the
sentence marked in bold italics in the transcription below):

> Πασῶν γὰρ τεχνῶν τε καὶ ἐπιστημῶν | εὑρηθεισῶν τε καὶ
> γραφθεισῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, | πῶς τούτων ἄπειρος αὐτὰς
> συννοήσει; ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τῇ | Ῥωμαϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ ἑρμηνευθείσας
> συννοήσει. Πολὺ | γὰρ διαφέρει ἡ Ἑλλὰς φωνὴ τῆς γλώσσης
> Ῥωμα- | ϊκῆς ἄλλως τε καὶ ἰδιότητι καὶ βραχυλογίᾳ καὶ εὐ- |
> πορίᾳ<.> Σιγῶ νῦν προσφέρων τὴν ἡμερότητα καὶ | γλυκύτητα,
> σιγῶ τῶν σχημάτων<,> ὁμοιοπτώτων<,> | ὁμοιοτελεύτων ἰσοκώλων
> τε ποι{κ}ιλότητα. {Ἓ}ν δὲ | μόνον λέγω. ***Οἱ Χριστομάχοι
> τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς | λόγοις ἡμῖν προσπολεμοῦσι, πῶς δ᾽ ἂν
> τούτων | ἄπειροι ὄντες ἐκείνων κρατήσοιμεν.*** [*sic pro* ;] [32]

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[32] 'Since all the arts and sciences were invented and put in written form by
the Greeks, how will someone unaware of these understand those? On the con-
trary, such a man will not understand even those ones translated into the Roman
language. For great is the difference between the Greek language and the Roman
tongue, especially in terms of peculiarity, conciseness of speech, and abundance.

One may also observe an implicit allusion to the metaphor of parent-child relationship not only between the two ancient languages, but also between the sciences and arts of the Greeks of the past and the ones of the successive inheritors of their cultural achievements. The allusion sounds more convincing when comparing the first words of this passage to the context of these same words (πασῶν γὰρ τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν) in the oration by Michael Psellus. He uses these words to describe the privileged position of philosophy over other sciences and arts.[33]

The epilogue elegantly integrates all the discussed disciplines into a functional hierarchical chain in which the studies of Greek language, culture, and rhetoric are treated as an indispensable auxiliary of the higher studies of philosophy and theology, while the latter two are regarded as responsible for molding one's entire personality in terms of aesthetic, ethical, and religious matureness.

For reasons of space, I will not discuss the stylistic properties of the oration in detail here. Yet its language, style, and composition resemble the speeches of Greco-Roman orators and Early Christian writers with a moderate amount of rhetorical ornaments, such as various types of parallelism (esp. *antithesis* and *paromoiosis*),[34] gradation,[35] rhetorical questions (including *hypophorae*),[36] *para-*

Now I keep silent about, and abstain from mentioning, gentleness and sweetness; I keep silent about the diversity of figures of speech, words in the same cases, clauses with the same endings, and constructions with the same clauses. I tell you only one thing. Those fighting against Christ carry on war against us with Greek speeches, but how would we be able to surpass those [i.e. the enemies of Christ] without being aware of these [i.e. Greek speeches or arguments]?'

[33] Psell. 49.133: ἡ φιλοσοφία γοῦν καὶ ὀνομάζεται καὶ ὑφέστηκε καὶ ἐν πρώτοις ἔχει τὴν ὕπαρξιν· πασῶν γὰρ τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν ὑπερέχει καὶ μήτηρ ἐστὶ πασῶν.

[34] For an example of antithesis, see Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 166v (emphasis mine, here and in the following examples): **πολὺ μὲν** εἰς τὴν **εὐφημίαν** τελείαν **πλεῖστον δὲ** εἰς τὴν ἀληθῆ **εὐδαιμονίαν** ὠφελήσαιτο. Examples of *paromoiosis* (manifested as *homoioteleuta*, *homoioptota*, or *anaphorae*): ἐγκωμιασ**τικοὶ** ἤ προτρεπ**τικοὶ** (fol. 166r); **εἰς τὴν** εὐφημ**ίαν** [...] **εἰς τὴν** ἀληθῆ εὐδαιμον**ίαν** (fol. 166v); **οὐδεὶς** ἡμᾶς προσευχομένους ἀκούει, **οὐδεὶς** ἐπιβλέπει θύοντας (fol. 167v). Here, as in the examples and quotes below, the transcription is simplified, i.e. showing no editorial intervention.

[35] e.g.: ἀσκήσεων γένος [...] **δεδεγμένον, συντηρούμενον** καὶ **αὐξανόμενον** (fol. 166v) (allusion to three progressive stages of the process of the reception of studies (or knowledge in general): first, accepting the subject from others; next, protecting and observing what is accepted; and third, augmenting and strengthening of the obtained thing).

[36] Rhetorical questions are especially evident in the laudations of several eloquent Early Christian authors: Ἀλλὰ μὴν ταῦτα τῶν ἐθνικῶν; μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες

lipsis,[37] and metaphors. Neologisms, unusual word forms,[38] and odd expressions are rare,[39] but the selection of topics and arguments is more or less original, reflecting the author's personal considerations and literary inventions, even though there are two passages where he is very closely imitating ancient Greek texts (bordering on plagiarism in its modern sense). The first of these two *loci* concerns a discussion of the different opinions of the classical philosophers (fol. 167r-v); there is a clear parallel here with Pseudo-Plutarch's treatise Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων, better known by its Latin title, *Placita philosophorum*.[40] The second obvious and almost verbatim imitation appears in the epilogue, where we find quite a long passage from Gregory of Nazianzus' 24th oration in praise of St Cyprian,

[37] Βιλναῖοι, τούτων μόνον, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων ὑστεροῦνται. οὐ τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ναζιανζηνός, οὐ τοιοῦτος ὁ Βασίλειος, οὐ τοιοῦτος Χρυσόστομος ἀπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ στόματος οὕτω λεχθείς; [...] Τίς δεινότερος τοῦ Ἱερωνύμου; Τίς γλυκύτερος τοῦ Αὐγουστίνου; Τίς λογιώτερος τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ; Τίς ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖ Ἀμβρόσιον, Γρηγόριον, Λέοντα τὸν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τὰ τούτων ὑπομνήματα; (fol. 169r).

[37] One instance of this rhetorical tool is found right between the series of rhetorical questions quoted in the previous footnote: Σιωπῶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὠριγένην, Κύριλλον, Δαμασκηνόν, Θεοφύλακτον, Κλήμεντα, Διονύσιον (fol. 169r).

[38] Only Lithuanian prosoponymic and toponymic forms such as Ῥαδιβίλου, Βίλνῃ, Βιλναίᾳ, and Βιλναῖοι and the elsewhere unattested superlative ἐκκριτώτατοι may be counted as newly coined words or word forms. Other rare words (such as ποικιλότητα, Χριστομάχοι) may be assigned to the influence of contemporary Greek sources.

[39] Here are some examples of morphological and syntactic oddities present in the oration: [...] ἐὰν μὲν μὴ πρῶτον | ἀλλ᾽ οὖν γε **μηδαμῶς** [instead of **οὐδαμῶς** *in apodosi*] ἔσχατον ἔχει τόπον ὅτι [...] (fol. 166r, l. 5-6) [NB: this line number here (in the area of the fol. 166r) signifies the line number counted from the first line of the Greek oration, but not from the top of the page, since half of the latter is occupied by a different text written in Latin. However, when dealing with other pages, those starting from fol. 166v, each line number signifies the line counted from the top of the page]; Ὧν μὲν τριῶν ἐ- | **ἄν** [instead of simple **εἰ** + optative *in protasi*] τις **κρατήσειεν** πάντως πολὺ μὲν εἰς τὴν εὐ- | φημίαν τελείαν πλεῖστον δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀληθῆ εὐ- | δαιμονίαν ὠφελήσαιτο (fol. 166v, l. 9-12); [...] ὅτι τοῦτο πάσης ἀμφισβητήσεως κρεῖτ- | τόν ἐστι<,> καὶ ταῦτα **λείγομαι ἐῶ** [= **ἐῶ?**] διαλεξόμενος (fol. 168r, l. 26-168v, l. 2); Τίς γὰρ χρῆσις | τῶν ἀδήλων εἰ μὴ σαφῶς πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν σύνε- | σιν **διασαφηνίσθωσιν** [sic = **διασαφηνισθῶσιν**] [instead of: <**ἄν**> **διασαφηνισθῇ**, since *neutra* in plural (here τὰ ἄδηλα implicitly) usually take singular verbs] (fol. 168v, l. 8-10).

[40] For an excellent description of the problem of the genesis and reception of the doxographical treatise of which the *Placita philosophorum* is merely an epitome, see Mansfeld 2016, p. 151-168.

quoted and used for the final conclusion.[41] A more detailed exposition of the similarities between the oration discussed here and the two abovementioned sources can be found in the table below.

Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 167r, l. 10-23:	Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum* (*Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, recognovit Gregorius N. Bernardakis, vol. 5, Leipzig: Teubner, 1893), p. 281-285:
	ζ΄. Τίς ὁ θεός
Τινὲς γὰρ τούτων, | οἷον Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος | Εὐήμερός τε ὁ Τεγεάτης, καθόλου ἔφησαν μὴ εἶναι θεόν. | Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας ἐλήρησεν, ἑστηκέναι κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς τὰ | σώματα, τῷ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ νῷ διακοσμηθῆναι. Ὁ Θα- | λῆς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κόσμου νοῦν εἶναι θεὸν ἀπεφήνατο. | Ἀναξίμανδρος ἀστέρας οὐρανίους. Δημόκριτος νοῦν | ἐμπυροειδῆ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχήν. Πυθαγόρας | τὴν μονάδα ὡς καὶ ἀόριστον τὴν δυάδα, δαίμονα, δη- | λονότι καὶ τὸ κακόν. Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῷ | βαδίζον. Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν εἶδος | χωριστὸν ἐπιβεβηκότα τῇ σφαίρᾳ τοῦ παντός. Παύ- | ομαι λέγων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον τὸν Σωκρά- | τη καὶ Πλάτωνα.	[880d8-10] Ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, καθάπερ Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος καὶ Εὐήμερος ὁ Τεγεάτης, καθόλου φασὶ μὴ εἶναι θεούς· [...] [880a7-8] ὁ δ᾽ Ἀναξαγόρας φησὶν ὡς ᾽εἱστήκει κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς τὰ σώματα, νοῦς ‹δὲ› αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε θεοῦ καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ὅλων ἐποίησεν᾽. [881d9] Θαλῆς νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου θεόν. [881d10] Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀστέρας οὐρανίους θεούς. [881d11] Δημόκριτος νοῦν τὸν θεόν, ἐμπυροειδῆ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχήν. [881e1-4] Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεὸν καὶ τἀγαθόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς· τὴν δ᾽ ἀόριστον δυάδα δαίμονα καὶ τὸ κακόν, περὶ ἥν ἐστι τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος. [ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁρατὸς ὁ κόσμος]. [881e10-f2] Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν εἶδος χωριστὸν ἐπι-

[41] This oration is today well-known for the hagiographical mistake of mixing up the biographical data of two different saints of the same name who lived in different times and places (Carthage and Syrian Antioch, respectively), and who were killed by the orders of different emperors (Valerian and Diocletian, respectively). Cf. Beeley 2008, p. 36.

βεβηκότα τῇ σφαίρᾳ τοῦ παντός, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἰθέριον σῶμα, τὸ πέμπτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον· [...] [881f8-10] Οἱ Στωικοὶ νοερὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται, πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῷ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γένεσιν κόσμου, ἐμπεριειληφὸς πάντας τοὺς σπερματικοὺς λόγους, καθ' οὓς ἕκαστα καθ' εἱμαρμένην γίνεται· [...]

Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 170r, l. 2-11:	Greg. Naz. *Or.* 24, 18 (*In laudem Cypriani*), PG 35, col. 1192:
Ἔνθεν ἥξει ἡ τοῦ σώματος κατάρ-	τισις, ψυχῆς ἀνάβασις, κακίας ἀποφυγή, ἀρετῆς ἐ-	πίδοσις, ἔνθεν οἱ νέοι τὴν κατὰ τῶν παθῶν ἀνδρείαν‹,›	οἱ πρεσβῦται τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ εὐβουλίαν, οἱ ἐν	δυναστείᾳ τὴν εὐνομίαν, οἱ ἐν στρατηγίᾳ τὴν ἡμερότητα,	οἱ ἐν λόγοις τὸ εὔλογον‹,› οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν μυσταγωγίαν, οἱ τοῦ	λαοῦ τὴν εὐπείθειαν, οἱ ἐν πένθει τὴν παράκλησιν, οἱ	ἐν εὐημερίᾳ τὸν φόβον, οἱ πλούσιοι τὴν μετάδοσιν‹,› οἱ πέ-	νητες τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πάντες δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀκολούθησιν καὶ	τῆς ψυχῆς ἡσυχίαν μανθάνουσί τε καὶ τυγχάνουσι.	Μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ μείζω τούτων προεισενέγκατε, καὶ οἷα τοὺς ἐκεῖνον γνησίως τιμῶντας εἰκός, σώματος κένωσιν, ψυχῆς ἀνάβασιν, κακίας ἀποφυγήν, ἀρετῆς ἐπίδοσιν· αἱ παρθένοι τὴν ἀσαρκίαν, αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ σώματος, οἱ νέοι τὴν κατὰ τῶν παθῶν ἀνδρίαν, οἱ πρεσβῦται τὴν εὐβουλίαν, οἱ ἐν δυναστείᾳ τὴν εὐνομίαν, οἱ ἐν στρατηγίᾳ τὴν ἡμερότητα, οἱ ἐν λόγοις τὸ εὔλογον· εἴπω τι καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν μυσταγωγίαν, οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν εὐπείθειαν, οἱ ἐν πένθει τὴν παράκλησιν, οἱ ἐν εὐημερίᾳ τὸν φόβον, οἱ πλούσιοι τὴν μετάδοσιν, οἱ πένητες τὴν εὐχαριστίαν.

4. *Some Textual and Interpretive Difficulties*

The significance of the work discussed above and its relation to other Greek works from the Polish-Lithuanian region remains to be studied in further depth. It seems, however, that it is a unique Greek oration, virtually unparalleled in this area, although being part of the pan-European phenomenon of delivering Latin (and less frequently Greek) speeches at school festivals.[42] Moreover,

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[42] e.g. Muretus 1572 [1557], Hilderich 1567, and Hoeschel 1577, to name but three examples from the second half of the sixteenth century.

a further analysis depends on the solution of a number of problems, mostly of two types: textual uncertainties and interpretive difficulties due to complicated sentences. Textual problems include instances of unexpected spelling and punctuation and dealing with incorrect and omitted words. They can be summarized in the illustrations below.

A. Incorrect letters and diacritics, omission of letters

- φίσε- | ως γενεῖ [*sic* = φύσε- | ως γένει] (fol. 167r, l. 3-4)
- ταυτῆς [*sic* = ταύτης] (fol. 167r, l. 2)
- Οἵ στωϊκὶ [*sic* = Οἱ στωϊκοὶ] (fol. 167r, l. 19)
- ἂν δύναιτο [*sic* = ἂν δύναιτο] (fol. 167r, l. 27)

B. Absence of punctuation marks

- πολλοῖς δῆλόν ἐστι τινές γὰρ τούτων (fol. 167r, l. 10; see e.g. also fol. 169v, l. 5)

C. Word deletions by strikethrough or underlining

- τοῦ ~~θεοῦ~~ κόσμου (fol. 167r, l. 15)
- ~~λείψομαι~~ (fol. 168v, l. 2)

D. Letter deletions and overwritten letters

- θαυμάζετε changed from θαυμάζεται (fol. 168v, l. 7)
- σχολαστικοῖς with <κ> written directly over the cluster <ηκ> in order to correct the mistakenly written form of σχολαστηκοῖς (fol. 169r, l. 19)

E. Words inserted in the margins or between the lines

- εκ τῆς τῶν ἀγιών ⁱᵉʳῶν γραφῶν [the more preferable alternative for the meaning 'holy' added above the line] (fol. 168r, l. 17)
- double insertion of the particle οὐ, both in the left margin, and in between the lines before the same word to form triple parallelism with anaphora of οὐ τοιοῦτος (fol. 169r, l. 6-7)

The classification of these mistakes is complicated and depends on a series of questions that need to be answered: in what circumstances or by whom were they made? Was it the Greek professor's own trembling or hasty hand that left them? Or was it the

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same professor's hand after he had abandoned his Greek chair and had switched to theology?[43] Or should the mistakes be attributed to a copyist or a student writing at the professor's dictation?[44] Or is it possible to refer a part of these mistakes (such as the frequent treatment of the particles μέν and δέ as enclitics or the circumflex accent of the ending -ους) to some contemporary or local textual tradition?[45]

Only one thing is more or less clear so far: someone revised the oration and made corrections, insertions, and remarks. This person could have been Kasper Pętkowski, the presumed orator, but his identity can only be confirmed by further paleographic study, by comparing the hands of the speech and other parts of the same manuscript, especially the one that wrote comments on Pętkowski's Latin dialogues.[46] This comment can be taken as strong evidence of the fact that Pętkowski was confronted with censorship in Jesuit education (Soczewka 1978, p. 82-87). But the influence of censorship on the fate of the Greek texts of this codex remains obscure, as does the number of contributors who helped to form the actual shape of the Greek texts: did the professor work alone, or did he have an assistant?

Among the interpretive difficulties, one of the most puzzling problems concerns a couple of the exordial sentences, especially the one mentioning some third type of specific exercises or broader educational profile introduced at Vilnius Academy: τρίτον ἐκεῖνο

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[43] This is not impossible, but see our discussion concerning the date of the oration above. Pętkowski started his theological studies somewhere between 1586 and 1587 (Soczewka 1978, p. 26).

[44] Some corrections made (esp. changes of similarly sounding diphthongs and vowels) convey the impression that the original words were written from dictation.

[45] These and similar uncertainties are common to all the researchers who face handwritten or old printed Greek texts, and they deserve a separate analysis based on other texts from the same area. For a recent discussion of the nature and variety of the mistakes occurring in Greek manuscripts and printed books, see Päll 2004, esp. 98-104.

[46] Particular attention should be given to the comment at the top of fol. 111v dealing with a dramatic work that suffered from an unfavorable assessment by some academic authorities: οὐκ ἐδείχθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐτελέσθη, οὐ γὰρ | ἤρεσεν ὥσπερ τὰ πάντα ἄλλα ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀρέ- | σκει· πλὴν εἰ ἀρέσκει ὁ ἡμῶν πόνος τῷ θεῷ<,> ἐστιν ἅλις. ὅμως ἡμεῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν ἑτέρων πονήματα καὶ συγγράμματα γράψομεν. The handwriting of this excerpt and that of the oration look very similar.

τῶν ἀσκήσεων γένος, ἔν τε πολλαῖς τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν πολιτείας ἀκαδημίαις καὶ ἐν τῆδε τῇ Βιλναίᾳ δεδεγμένον.[47] This statement is problematic precisely because of its seemingly straightforward appearance: it is found at the beginning of the discourse, makes an allusion to 'academies of the Christian commonwealth', and somehow abruptly turns into a discussion of the three academic disciplines of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. The pronoun οὗτος in the first complex sentence, not accompanied by a noun, obscures the interpretation even more. The line of argument goes as follows (emphases mine):

> Πολλῶν οὐσῶν ἐπαινετῶν συνηθειῶν ὥσπερ | τῶν ἄλλων εὖγε τεταγμένων ἁπασῶν οὕτω καὶ | ταύτης ἡμετέρας{,} τῆς οὐ πολὺ πρόσω ἐπανορθω- | θείσης Ἀκαδημίας (ἄνδρ<ες> ἐκκριτώτατοι ὑμεῖς τε, νέοι | εὐγενεῖς καὶ σπουδαῖοι) καὶ **οὗτος** [sic] ἐὰν μὲν μὴ πρῶτον | ἀλλ᾽ {οὖ}ν γε μηδαμῶς ἔσχατον ἔχει τόπον ὅτι ἐν ἀρ- | χῇ τῆς τῶν διατριβῶν ἑξαμηναίας [sic pro ἑξαμηνιαίας] ἀνακαινώσε- | ως οἱ ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ ἢ προτρεπτικοὶ λόγοι προ- | ΐενται. Πάνυ ὀρθῶς ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος καὶ εἰ- | κότως. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἀν- | δρῶν ἐγκωμίοις πολλῶν ὁ τῶν ἀκροωμένων | νοῦς, εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς μίμησιν ἐξεγείρεται καὶ | \[fol. 166 verso]\ καὶ ἐμπυρίζεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τινὲς **τῶν** | **τεχνῶν τε καὶ ἐπιστημῶν** ἐγκωμιαζόμεναι εἰς τὸν | ἑαυτῶν ζῆλον πολλῶν τὰς διανοίας ἕλκουσι καὶ | ἁρπάζουσι. Καὶ μὴν πασῶν **τῶν ἐπιστημῶν** κα- | λῶν τε οὐσῶν καὶ εὐδοκίμων **τρίτον ἐκεῖνο τῶν** | **ἀσκήσεων γένος**, ἔν τε πολλαῖς τῆς τῶν χριστια- | νῶν πολιτείας ἀκαδημίαις καὶ ἐν τῆδε τῇ Βιλ- | ναίᾳ δεδεγμένον συντηρούμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον | πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων πρωτεύει. {**Ὧ}ν μὲν τριῶν** ἐ- | άν τις **κρατήσειεν** πάντως πολὺ μὲν εἰς τὴν εὐ- | φημίαν τελείαν πλεῖστον δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀληθῆ εὐ- | δαιμονίαν ὠφελήσαιτο. **Τὴν δὲ λογιότητα λέγω** | **φιλοσοφίαν τε καὶ θεολογίαν**. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν {φι}- | λοσοφίαν μόνον {ἢ} τινα ἄλλην μίαν, τῶν ἄλ- | λων καταφρονοῦντες, ὅλον διατρίβουσι τὸν βίον. | Οὐ πολύ γε εἰς τὴν τῶν λόγων τελειότητα κερ- | δαίνοντες φαίνονται.[48] (Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 166r-166v)

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[47] 'That third kind of exercises, accepted both in many academies of the commonwealth of Christians and in this one of Vilnius'.

[48] An approximate translation runs as follows: 'Of the many commendable customs that exist – both the other well-established ones, and this academy of ours, restored not so long ago (I am addressing you, the most eminent of men, and you, noble and earnest young people), this [oration] (καὶ οὗτος) occupies if not the first, then at least by no means the last place, since orations of praise or

The phrase τρίτον τῶν ἀσκήσεων γένος is in parallel with πᾶσαι αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι and takes the first place among them (in the hierarchy of the sciences) at all the Christian academies. The author introduces this type of 'exercises' in connection to his elaborate initial praise of various congregations of human beings, one of which is the congregation of scholars and noblemen in a newly organized Vilnius Academy. Moreover, this school, with its praiseworthy habit of beginning each school year with ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ ἢ προτρεπτικοὶ λόγοι, deserves special attention. The speaker then gives his approval for the habit of presenting discourses with praise and incitement. He draws a comparison between listening to laudations of virtuous men and attending encomia of various arts and sciences; the former occupation arouses in the minds of young men a wish to imitate virtuous deeds, the latter (i.e. giving ear to the praises of arts) makes these minds eagerly love the subject of their studies. And it is at this point that the concept of the third type of 'exercises', which has been admitted (δεδεγμένον) at Vilnius Academy, appears. However, it is not said what kind of 'exercises' are meant: is it a particular subject of studies, common at most European universities, or is it a complex combination of subjects arranged in certain order, or just a specific rhetorical exercise – composing and performing orations during school festivals? [49]

exhortation are used to be delivered at the beginning of the six-monthly renewal of studies. Very fairly and reasonably so, in my opinion. After all, just as the minds of many of those listening to the encomia of the people praised are awakened and exhorted to imitate virtue, in the same way some of the arts and sciences, when adorned with encomium, attract and seize the thoughts of many to follow them. And indeed, since all sciences are both beautiful and well-regarded, the training of that third kind accepted, nurtured, and expanded both in many academies of the commonwealth of Christians, and in this one of Vilnius, greatly surpasses training of other kinds. If one were to fully master the three [kinds of training], he would benefit greatly on the way to full glory, and most of all, on the way to true happiness. I am talking about eloquence, philosophy, and theology. On the other hand, others engage throughout their lives only in philosophy or some other single [discipline], abandoning others. They seem, however, to have little benefit for the perfection of their own eloquence'.

[49] The meaning of ἄσκησις may include such different aspects of training as physical exercises for the body, on the one hand, and spiritual and intellectual exercises for the soul, on the other. But there is no reference to physical training in the entire speech, so probably mental exercises are meant. For the third possible interpretive option, giving occasional speeches as exercise, I am genuinely grateful to Raf Van Rooy, one of the editors of the present volume.

The simplest solution would be to interpret ἀσκήσεων γένος as referring to the study subjects as they are mentioned both in the title of the oration, and in the course of the passage just quoted. The latter explicitly mentions eloquence (rhetoric), philosophy, and theology. But the variation in their number and order – the title has four study subjects, enumerated in the following sequence: philosophy, theology, eloquence, and Greek letters – leaves room for doubt, especially since I suspect that the beginning of the speech misses some words (see οὗτος marked above).

On the other hand, the author of the speech could have been aware of several types of education centers with different curricula (and levels of training, too), and it is not impossible that by mentioning the third type of training the author meant that Vilnius Academy was following a certain third trend in studies (with specific training programs), presumably the one with the theological profile of having three major faculties (the *litterae humaniores*, philosophy, and, at the top, theology).[50] However, it remains unclear from which source the numbering originated (why it is called 'the third kind'), and how many kinds the speaker had in mind, but the orator's remark τὴν δὲ λογιότητα λέγω, φιλοσοφίαν τε καὶ θεολογίαν probably suggests that only theology is meant, the third and highest faculty which had in fact only recently – by the end of the 1570s – been introduced at Vilnius Academy. Of course, I cannot affirm this with absolute certainty without knowing the other two 'kinds of exercises', unless we interpret them as 'faculties' and take the term λογιότης, 'eloquence', as a keyword representing the essence of the *studia humanitatis* (*litterae humaniores*). Some contemporary sources, such as Simon Maricius' *De scholis seu academiis libri duo* (Cracow 1551) or *Academia* (Heidelberg 1587) by Franciscus Junius (François Du Jon), are of no help in this discussion because Maricius does not use clear numbers to distinguish types of school exercises and faculties, and F. Junius explicitly ascribes

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[50] This tripartite hierarchy is, for instance, also attested for the Collegium Romanum established by St Ignatius of Loyola in 1551 on the model of the University of Paris. Cf. O'Malley 1993, p. 216.

theology together with law and medicine to the fourth, and highest, category of studies at the gymnasia.[51]

Finally, if the speaker had the rhetorical exercise of composing and performing an oration in mind, this argument lacks further evidence and needs further investigation; it is at this stage impossible to state with certainty that Jesuit schools had accepted (by that time or earlier) this training tool (measure) as a 'third type of exercises'.

Because of this interpretive difficulty, it is not easy to distinguish the exact task that the author of the oration ascribes to Greek studies: if the mastery of the basics of theology was the final goal of that third kind of exercises, then Greek served as an instrument of certain importance. As already mentioned, the question of the utility of Greek is discussed only at the end of the oration, and it is only there that its indispensability and superiority over Latin for a better mastering of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology is explicitly stated. However, the aesthetic value of Greek, transcending the mere instrumental function, is barely mentioned. Nor is the playful application of Greek studies considered; such playfulness can obviously be implied *ex ipso facto*, and one can hardly believe that, without it, the author took pleasure in composing Greek poems and speeches, a process that often went hand in hand with rather difficult grammar courses and reading classes.

By Way of Conclusion:
Early Acclaim of Ancient Greek in Lithuania

Despite the abovementioned problems and overall scarcity of comments on Greek, the fact that the oration itself was composed and recited in Greek implies a great admiration of this language

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[51] Junius 1587, p. 29, summarizes his classification as follows: 'Gymnasiorum igitur species ferme quatuor ex hoc ordine (nam totidem fuerunt olim) constitui possunt: prima, eorum in quibus linguarum doctrina fuit exposita; secunda, in quibus instrumenta subministrantur et artes ad philosophiam praeuiae; tertia, in quibus aperiuntur studiosis et patescunt recessus philosophiae; quarta denique eorum, in quibus summae illae facultates, quas postremo loco diximus, juuentuti explanantur ex usu Reipub.(licae). Omnia autem inde a principio studiorum, ex quo Cadmus literas intulit, apud Graecos Cadmiae siue Academiae nomine donata sunt'.

on the author's part. Moreover, the author makes some interesting remarks on Greek studies, suggesting a privileged position for the Greek language. First of all, in the problematic passage discussed above, the author alludes to the pan-European 'Hellenomathic' and 'Philhellenic' context when mentioning Christian academies which primarily focused on Bible studies, its original languages, and the Greco-Latin exegetic tradition. Surprisingly, however, references to the Bible are very sparse, and the Hebrew language – which had been taught at the Vilnius Jesuit college from its very foundation, eight years before it was turned into an academy – is completely ignored. At least for the speaker and his direct audience, the reference to a Christian academy may have implied the presence of the so-called sacred languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) as a necessary attribute, needing no further explanation.

Another implicit argument that the author regarded Greek studies as particularly important is found in the statement on the religious polemics of Hellenophonic theological rivals (called Χριστομάχοι) who fought 'with Greek speeches' against Catholicism in general or the Jesuits in particular. The author of the speech may have alluded to the increasing interest in, and the recognition and veneration of, the saints of the Eastern Church in contemporary Rome and the Jesuit provinces. On the one hand, he explicitly mentioned St Catherine of Alexandria (*c.* 287-305), famous for her erudition and eloquence, much venerated by the Jesuits as the patron of philosophy, schools, and students.[52] On the other, he mentioned another eloquent saint of Eastern Christianity, viz. Gregory of Nazianzus (329-390), highly admired by Pope Gregory XIII (in office 1572-1585) who around that time transferred his relics to the Cappella Gregoriana[53] and gave the order to the historian Cesare Baronio (1538-1607) to spread the saint's fame by writing a new version of his biography

[52] St Catherine is also honored with a Latin hymn in the same manuscript (Cod. Oss. 1137, fol. 75r-v). The author is probably again K. Pętkowski (Soczewka 1978, p. 23). As an important patron saint of the Jesuits in their apostolic work, she is mentioned in the so-called Pawlikowski codex representing the literary activity of the Kalisz Jesuit college in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Rzegocka 2016, p. 52). More details about the importance of this saint in Europe, with special attention to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, are offered by Pylypiuk 2017, p. 158-181.

[53] For an up-to-date discussion of this event, see esp. Cornini 2012, p. 376-377; Schraven 2016, p. 132-136.

in Latin (Calenzio 1907, p. 216; Guazzelli 2012, p. 57, n. 11). Although the latter was not published at that time, earlier Jesuit versions of the saint's biography did circulate in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[54] It is probably no coincidence that Gregory of Nazianzus was famous for his wide-ranging learning covering theology, philosophy, and eloquence – all three qualities extolled in the oration discussed here.[55]

In sum, this unique Greek oration – encompassing both textual and paratextual information, as well as unspoken contextual messages and interesting stylistic features deserving further research – bears strong witness to the establishment of a tradition of Greek studies in sixteenth-century Lithuania to which the Jesuit order, operating in tandem with the Roman Curia and Lithuanian ruling elites, has greatly contributed. Yet the effects and success of this tradition were also much conditioned by both the overall creative and competitive interconfessional climate and the individual efforts of professors and students as local promotors of a Philhellenic movement.

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[54] By the year 1577, the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536-1612) had prepared a Polish version of the lives of the saints (*Żywoty Świętych*), published for the first time in Vilnius in 1579, when he was also elected Rector of Vilnius University (1579-1584); see Skarga 1579, p. 422-429. For the sources of the *Żywoty Świętych*, see the surveys by Fros 1991 and Ceccherelli 2003.

[55] On the reception of Gregory of Nazianzus in sixteenth-century Lithuania, see Veteikis 2018.

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ná żądánie Je<go> M. X. Biskupá Przemysłskiego Kánclerzá Koronnego: Nominatá Kuiáwskiego: y nakłádem iego wydáie się, W Krakowie: W Drukárni Mikołáiá Lobá Roku Páńskiego.

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Abstract

This article discusses a speech written and recited in ancient Greek at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy in the early eighties of the sixteenth century, treating the benefits of harmonizing philosophical studies with three other branches of learning, viz. theology, rhetoric, and Greek literature. The oration survives in a multilingual manuscript codex preserved in the Library of the Ossolinski National Institute in Wrocław (shelfmark Oss. 1137), of which only a small portion (mostly Latin poems and versified dialogues) has been studied thus far. Relying on previous research, the paper first focuses on the entire codex in order to discuss the circumstances of its production, problems of authorship, and its historical background with emphasis on the situation of education and the growing importance of Greek studies in sixteenth-century Lithuania. Even though Kasper Pętkowski (1554-1612), who authored many Latin poems present in the codex, may have authored the speech, some textual aspects and interpretive difficulties leave open the possibility that the oration was composed by a student. The contribution provides a brief overview of the content of the oration, identifies the main problems associated with it, presents some remarks on the text's style and sources, and discusses which benefits of Greek studies the oration projects both directly and indirectly.

PART IV
BRIDGING TRADITIONS
JEWISH AND CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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GREEK IN THE *ARUKH* OF NATHAN B. JEHIEL*

At the close of the eleventh century, Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome produced the first lexicon of rabbinic terminology written and preserved in Hebrew, a highly influential masterpiece of rabbinic scholarship.[1] Nathan was a learned scholar, a son of the liturgical poet Jehiel b. Abraham, and his *Arukh* is an immense and alphabetized compendium of Talmudic citations, Targumic comparisons, Geonic material, textual variants, and lexical explanations.[2] It was widely used among medieval Talmudists, consulted by the Christian Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629), reworked by the Hungarian Jewish scholar Alexander Kohut (1842-1894), and still occasionally creeps into modern rabbinic dictionaries.[3]

[1] Abramson 1984, p. 27-29. Abramson claimed that Nathan was the first to write a Hebrew dictionary of the Talmud.

[2] For Jehiel b. Abraham, see Fraenkel 2006, p. 2. See also Zunz 1855, p. 204; cf. Zunz 1865, p. 140. For a thirteenth-century testimony concerning Nathan's family, see Isaac b. Moses of Vienna, *Or Zaru'a* (ed. 1862), vol. 2, p. 125. See also Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (ed. 1907), p. 6-7. For a survey of the history of the medieval Roman Jewish community, see Stow 1995, vol. 1, p. xix-xxxiii.

[3] For a list of references to the *Arukh* in later rabbinic scholarship, see Kohut 1878-1892, p. xxi-xxxvii. For the epitome of the *Arukh* used by Buxtorf, see Kaufmann 1885, p. 185-192, 225-233.

There are frequent references to other languages, particularly Greek, in the lexicon.[4] The phrase *lšwn ywn* ('language of Greece') often appears to mark a rabbinic term as Greek or compare it to its Greek equivalent.[5] Although some of these references clearly draw from explanations in earlier rabbinic literature, sometimes the sources are less obvious.[6] A reference to 'Israelites who are among the Greeks', which I will discuss shortly, suggests at least some knowledge of Greek-speaking Jewish communities and their modes of expression. It was previously supposed that Nathan studied in Sicily under the judge R. Matzliach, where he might have had some contact with Greek speakers.[7] However, J. N. Epstein showed that the evidence for this supposition, the reference to a teaching heard 'from the mouth of R. Matzliach' in the entry on אנפקינון, is a later addition to the *Arukh* (Epstein 1983, p. 265-269).

This paper makes the case for a different kind of informant. No evidence supports claims that Nathan pored through Greek Bible translations as the Venerable Bede had before him. The *Arukh* does, however, offer evidence of contacts with contemporary Greek scholars. Expanding on the work of Luisa Ferretti Cuomo (1974) and Israel Ta-Shma (2005), I will argue that certain discussions of Greek found in the *Arukh* betray faint, indirect, and yet discernible connections to Byzantine as well as Latin scholarly circles.

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[4] For the suggestion that Nathan might have learned this tendency while studying in Narbonne, see Ferretti Cuomo 1969, p. 235.

[5] Alexander Kohut listed 160 entries of the *Arukh* that include the phrase *lšwn ywn*. Although the list is imprecise, it gives a rough sense of the interest in Greek displayed in the lexicon. See Kohut 1878-1892, vol. 1, p. vii.

[6] See e.g. s.vv. טרקסין, I קפנדר. For Geonic materials in the *Arukh*, see Abramson 1971; 1972; 1973a; 1973b. Nathan did not always cite his sources, as Abramson 1971, p. 125, noted. It is therefore difficult to be entirely certain that he was the original author rather than the transmitter of any given statement found in the *Arukh*. I have searched the online *Ma'agarim* database for parallels to the relevant entries (<http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il> [last accessed March 11, 2021]), but there remains a slight possibility that Nathan drew comments from material that was not preserved. In such a case, my arguments would apply to the milieu from which Nathan drew his sources rather than to Nathan himself.

[7] For example, Ferretti Cuomo 1974, p. 17 & 181; Gil 1983, p. 95. For R. Matzliach, see Simonsohn 2011, p. 62-63.

1. *'Israelites Who are among the Greeks'*

One theory of Greek in the *Arukh* has been widely accepted for nearly two centuries. In 1829, Solomon Judah Loeb Rapoport claimed that Nathan derived his Greek not only from human informants, but also from the examination of Greek Bible translations.[8] Alexander Kohut (1878-1892, vol. 1, p. v), D. S. Blondheim (1924, p. 2), and Shifra Sznol (2009, p. 119-122) reiterated Rapoport's claim, and Nicholas de Lange cited it as recently as 2015 (p. 113-114).

The claim, however, does not stand up to scrutiny. Rapoport primarily derived the idea from the entry on אסתניד, in which the following observation appears:

> וישר׳ שהן בין היוונים לועזין להנה אביך חולה. אסתנס. ויש לועזין ארוסטוס[9]
>
> And Israelites who are among the Greeks express 'Behold your father is sick' [Gen. 48:1] in a foreign tongue [*lw'zyn*] as *'stns* [ἀσθενής]; and there are those who express [it] in a foreign tongue as *'rwstws* [ἄρρωστος].[10]

Rapoport (1829, p. 28 n. 15) understood this line as a reference to the way that Jews who live among the Greeks translate the Bible; the phrase expressed in a foreign tongue is, after all, biblical. Sznol took this reading even further by rendering the active participle *lw'zyn* (*lo'azin*, 'express in a foreign tongue' or, if used substantivally, 'people who express in a foreign tongue') as '*la'azim*' and translating the term as 'biblical translations'.[11]

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[8] Rapoport 1829, p. 9 & p. 28 n. 15. Rapoport viewed Nathan's Greek Bible translations as written documents, not oral traditions. He praised Nathan for his ability to study 'without a teacher and guide even from books that were strange to him' (Rapoport 1829, p. 9). Rapoport offered this claim as a counter to Moses Israel Landau's (1819-1824, vol. 1, p. 11-12) proposition that Nathan learned his Greek from living informants.

[9] MS London Add. 26881 fol. 7v. Unless noted otherwise, my citations of the *Arukh* rely on this manuscript, which Malachi Beit-Arié described as among the most ancient, and possibly the most ancient, of the extant *Arukh* manuscripts. See Beit-Arié 2019, p. 241. I thank Simcha Emmanuel for directing me to this reference. I refer to the names of entries as they appear in Kohut 1878-1892.

[10] All translations of primary and secondary sources in this paper are my own.

[11] Sznol 2009, p. 120. Sznol's vocalization differs from that of Kohut's *Aruch Completum* and the 1517 Pesaro edition of the *Arukh*, the two sources for her text of the *Arukh* (Sznol 2009, p. 111 n. 3).

But people, rather than texts, are in view: the *Arukh* refers to what certain Jews say rather than what their Bible translations say.

The other examples brought by Rapoport and Sznol do not point to use of written translations, either. Genesis Rabbah 46:3 and its citation of Aquila figure in an explanation of the term אקיוס, along with the following observation:

<div dir="rtl">וכן לועזין בלש׳ יון[12]</div>

> And thus they express in a foreign tongue [*lwʿzyn*] in the language of Greece.

Sznol (2009, p. 119) translated this comment as: 'And in other *laʿazim* (biblical translations) in the Greek language'. Again, by turning *loʿazin* into *laʿazim*, Sznol translated human informants into Bible translations. Rapoport also cited this line as evidence that Nathan used Greek Bible translations. He explained the line as: 'for thus still today Jews who are among the Greeks translate as Aquila did in earlier days' (Rapoport 1829, p. 28 n. 15). Although *lwʿzyn* could simply refer to speech in a vernacular language, it might connote biblical translation in the *Arukh*, since it appears here and in the entry on אסתניד in the context of Greek renderings of biblical verses.[13] However, although his interpretation is perfectly plausible, Rapoport ignored the fact that it again brings the Greek of the *Arukh* into the realm of human informants rather than textual translations.

Five of Sznol's additional examples of a use of biblical translations in the *Arukh* are clearly – sometimes even explicitly – drawn from citations of Greek Bible translations in rabbinic literature, and so they do not demonstrate independent access to such translations.[14] Two other examples offered by Sznol as well as

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[12] Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. אקיוס, MS London Add. 26881 fol. 12r. Although a citation of Aquila does appear in this entry, this does not demonstrate any independent access to Aquila: the citation comes from Genesis Rabbah, as explicitly noted in the *Arukh*.

[13] Cf. Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. I לעז, where the term also appears in the context of biblical translation, although this choice was determined by m. *Megillah* 2:1.

[14] Sznol 2009, p. 119-122. The citation of the Aquila translation of Esther 1:6 appears with an explicit note that this citation comes from Aquila in Esther Rabbah, which indeed quotes the relevant phrase and attributes it to Aquila (Kohut 1878-1892, s.v. איירינון; Esther Rabbah 2:7). See further, however, for the date of the entire entry. Similarly, one cannot prove independent access to

two of the abovementioned rabbinic citations cannot prove any-
thing about Bible translations in Nathan's *Arukh* because they
are very late additions to the lexicon that were produced by the
seventeenth-century scholar Benjamin Musaphia.[15]

Sznol's remaining example, originally suggested by Rapoport,
comes from the entry on מלג. The entry includes the following:

<div dir="rtl">

שכן לג בלש׳ יון דיבור· אלה הדברים בלש׳ יון טוטה לוגה[16]

</div>

For thus *lg* [λόγος] in the language of Greece is 'speech'.
'lh hdbrym ['these are the words'] in the language of Greece
is *ṭwṭh lwgh*.[17]

Sznol inserted the phrase '(i.e. biblical translation)' into the
second statement, presumably because *'lh hdbrym* are the open-
ing words and Hebrew name of the book of Deuteronomy.
The *Arukh* does tend to associate Greek glosses with biblical
phrases, as this and previous examples indicate. However, dis-
course concerning the Bible does not require use of written Bible
translations.

Rapoport offered two further citations as evidence of Nathan's
Bible translations. Nathan explained that *qrṭl* (κάρταλλος) is
Greek for *ṭn'* ('basket'; Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. קרטל). Similarly, the
Septuagint used κάρταλλος to translate *ṭn'* in Deut. 26:2 and
26:4. Although noting the possibility of a coincidence, Cameron

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Aquila from the translation of Dan. 5:5 attributed to Aquila, which is quoted
in y. *Yoma* 3:10 (41a); the translation of Prov. 18:21 attributed to Aquila,
which is quoted in Leviticus Rabbah 33:1 (ed. Margulies, p. 756); the transla-
tion of Ez. 23:43 attributed to Aquila, which is quoted in Leviticus Rabbah 33:6
(ed. Margulies, p. 767); or the translation of Ez. 16:10 attributed to Aquila,
which is quoted in PRK *BeShalach* 8 (ed. Mandelbaum, p. 184). See Kohut 1878-
1892, s.vv. למפדס (however, see below for discussion of date), פלקט, פלאה, מצטרא.

[15] Kohut 1878-1892, s.vv. איירונין, למפדס, פופי, פסנתר. Musaphia's additions
to the *Arukh* are, confusingly, included in the *Aruch Completum* and marked
by a manicule. For Kohut's guide to his sigla, see Kohut 1878-1892, vol. 1,
p. 339. Cf. Kohut 1878-1892, vol. 1, p. 132-135.

[16] MS London Add. 26881 fol. 221r. *Ṭwṭh 'ylwgh* in the *Aruch Completum*.
Kohut commented that he followed the first printed edition against the other
editions and manuscripts that he examined. See Kohut 1878-1892, s.v. מלג n. 9.

[17] Sznol relayed the observation that the *Arukh*'s rendering might reflect
something like ἐτοῦτα τὰ λόγια of the Constantinople Pentateuch. See Sznol
2009, p. 120 n. 31 as well as Hesseling 1897, p. 346. Cf. Kohut 1878-1892,
s.v. מלג n. 10.

Boyd-Taylor (2010, p. 283) pointed out that κάρταλλος is a term poorly attested in late antiquity, arguing, '[t]hat Nathan knows of the Septuagint's κάρταλλος is therefore not uninteresting'. But Nathan might easily know of κάρταλλος because it appears in rabbinic literature, in sources cited in the *Arukh* immediately before its explanation of the term. The not uninteresting point is the one originally made by Rapoport: 'He chose a Hebrew word that appears in only one place in the Pentateuch to explicate by means of its translation a Greek term'.[18] This choice is not, however, altogether striking: *ṭn'* might have been chosen because it is a common postbiblical word.

Rapoport drew his remaining proof from the following explanation in the entry on אפיקטפיזון:

<div dir="rtl">

פי׳ בלש׳ מקרא הוא הקאה [19]

</div>

The explanation: in the language of Scripture, it is 'vomit'.

Rapoport argued that the 'language of Scripture' here suggests 'the Greek translation of the term *qy'* ("vomit"), which is only found in Prophets'.[20] The more straightforward reading, however, is that the *Arukh* offers a biblical equivalent for the term and marks this equivalent as 'the language of Scripture', as it does elsewhere for terms that have no Greek associations.[21] The point is synonymity with a biblical term, not lexical equivalence in a Greek Bible translation.

Sznol observed that the Greek equivalents offered in the *Arukh* sometimes overlap with those found in Greek Bible translations. Aquila and F[b], both of which exhibit connections to Greek-speaking medieval Jewish communities, do read ἀρρωστεῖ in Gen. 48:1.[22] The Judeo-Greek column of the Constantinople

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[18] Rapoport 1829, p. 28 n. 15. Rapoport presumably meant one part of the Pentateuch, rather than one verse. *Tn'* appears in Deut. 26:2.4 and 28:5.17, and the Septuagint translates the term as κάρταλλος in the first two verses.

[19] MS London Add. 26881 fol. 9v.

[20] Rapoport 1829, p. 28 n. 15. The noun appears in Is. 19:14; 28:8, and Jer. 48:26. The verb does appear in the Pentateuch, in Lev. 18:25.28, and 20:22.

[21] See Kohut 1878-1892, p. ix for a list of entries that, in Kohut's view, mention the 'language of Scripture'.

[22] F[b] is a set of glosses added to the Ambrosian Hexateuch in the eleventh century by a Christian hand, and it has been shown to contain Jewish glosses.

Polyglot Pentateuch reads the adjective ἄρρωστος in Gen. 48:1, thus corresponding exactly to the citation found in the *Arukh*.[23] The Polyglot was printed in Constantinople in 1547 by Eliezer Soncino, but N. Fernández Marcos (1985, p. 197-203; 2000, p. 183-186) argued that the Greek translation draws on a tradition of Byzantine Jewish Bible translation and conserves far older elements. When the *Arukh* renders the term from Gen. 48:1 as ἄρρωστος in the entry on אסתניד discussed above, it appears to reflect some awareness of this tradition, especially given the attribution of this rendering to 'Israelites who are among the Greeks'.

Such overlaps are not restricted to Bible translations; they can also be found in other forms of Jewish Greek translations. Sznol herself noted interpretive similarities between the *Arukh* and the glossary of Genizah fragment T-S K7.16, which was composed in Greece or southern Italy no later than the twelfth century and renders difficult Mishnaic terms into Greek equivalents spelled in pointed Hebrew letters.[24] These overlaps probably reflect a common translation milieu rather than direct contact. We have no evidence that Nathan ever encountered a Greek Bible or Mishnah translation. But he might have met – and learned at least a couple of Greek words from – people who had.

I conclude that neither Rapoport nor Sznol offered compelling evidence that Nathan ever looked inside a Greek Bible translation. Aside from the Greek gleaned from rabbinic texts and commentaries, the *Arukh* reflects a familiarity with Greek that was, as far as we know, always mediated through informants. It is a familiarity learned from 'Israelites who are among the Greeks' rather than from their texts.

In this case it follows Aquila. See Fincati 2016, p. 75. For the relationship between Fᵇ and Aquila, see Salvesen 2009, p. 2-7. For Jewish traditions in Fᵇ, see Fernández Marcos 2000, p. 175-177; Fincati 2016, p. 421-422.

[23] Hesseling 1897, p. 105. Cf. Sznol 2009, p. 120; Fincati 2016, p. 75.

[24] Sznol 2007, p. 229. The text of the glossary was first published by de Lange 1996, p. 295-305. The text of the fragment was then republished by Sznol 2007, p. 225-252. For the dating, see Sznol 2007, p. 230. The overlaps between the glossary and the *Arukh* extend to lexical similarities. They both offer the same rendering for *npṭ*, a rendering that de Lange noted as interesting in the case of the glossary. See Sznol 2007, p. 236 n. 7; Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. נפט; de Lange 1996, p. 298.

2. *The Grammatikoi*

Greek informants were available in Nathan's Rome. As G. A. Loud (2000, p. 26) observed, 'With its ancient Greek monastic colonies, Rome was a metropolis of Greco-Latin intercourse until the eleventh century'. Greek culture in the area received an additional boost around the end of the eleventh century, when the Muslim conquest of Sicily and raids on southern Italy forced a substantial population of Greeks to move northwards (Loud 2000, p. 52-59). Among them were monks such as St Nilus of Rossano, who fled Calabria in the 980s. St Nilus spent fifteen years in a town near Monte Cassino before moving to Gaeta and then founding the monastery of Grottaferrata near Rome (Berschin 1988, n. 190; Loud 2000, p. 57).

To be sure, Italo-Greek culture was approaching its decline during Nathan's lifetime. The Norman conquest in the second half of the eleventh century ended Byzantine political power in mainland Italy and began the Latinization of the region. This was, however, a slow process. The manuscript evidence demonstrates that Greek textual production was actually quite active even during the twelfth century, although ultimately doomed (Canart 1978, p. 103-162; Wilson 1996, p. 212). Despite the Schism of 1054 that began the final separation of the Eastern and Roman churches, Italian monasteries still maintained an active relationship with Constantinople during the latter half of the eleventh century. For example, Monte Cassino, the dominant monastic institution of the period, was a center for Greco-Latin culture (for Monte Cassino during this period, see Newton 1999). Byzantine artists designed the monastery's basilica under the abbot Desiderius (Bloch 1986, p. 40-112). Whatever trends the Norman invaders brought with them, Rome did not forget its Greek in a day.

A scholar who claims knowledge of Greek even wanders into the *Arukh*, at the end of an entry on פרקופי:

סיפר לנו ר׳ דניאל זצ״ל ששאל לדיין א׳ פילוסיפו גרמטקו מהו
פרוקופי· השיבו הוא כבוד בלש׳ גרמטקא [25]

Rabbi Daniel of blessed memory informed us that he asked a certain judge, a philosopher, a *grmṭqw* [γραμματικός], what

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[25] Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. פרקופי, MS London Add. 26881 fol. 318r.

is *prwqwpy*.[26] He answered him: it is honor in the language of *grmṭq'* [γραμματική].

The term γραμματικός first appeared in fourth-century BCE Attic Greek as 'an epithet with the general sense "literate", "knowing, skilled in, letters or literature", the antonym of ἀγράμματος (in place of *γράμματος), and only later became the title for a professional teacher of language of literature' (Kaster 1988, p. 453). Latin then borrowed the term, while φιλόλογος took over the original sense of the word in Greek.

Scholars have cited a similar reference to the language of *grmṭq'* in the entry on תאטר. The passage in question is probably a later addition to the dictionary, but it does provide an ancient usage of the phrase closely associated with the *Arukh*:[27]

> בלשון גרמטקא קורין תיאטהו[28] למקום שיושבין שם בגובה ורואין השחוק שעושין למטה בין בבני אדם בין בחיות רעות ועד היום קורין לקולסיאו תיטרון כי באותן המעלות היו יושבין שם בני אדם זה על גב זה ולא היו מונעין הראיה אחד מחבירו והיו רואין השחוק שעושין למטה.

> In the language of *grmṭq'* [γραμματική] they call *ty'ṭh[r]w* [θέατρον] a place in which one sits at a height and views the merriment made below, whether with humans or with wild beasts, and until today they call the Colosseum a *tyṭrwn* [θέατρον] because people would sit on those steps, one on top of the other, so that one would not block the view from his fellow, and they would view the merriment made below.[29]

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[26] Kohut understood the underlying Greek as προκοπή in the sense of prosperity ('Fortgang, Zunahme, Gedeihen'). Honor and *prwqwpy* are paired in Pesikta Rabbati 14.

[27] This passage and the line that follows it are absent from many manuscripts (e.g. MS Lon 12301, MS Saraval 3, and MS Vien NB 7). MS London Add. 26881 does not extend to this entry. However, the passage does appear in MS Parma 3011 (as well as in later manuscripts such as MS Lon Mon 415 and MS Kohut), dated to 1296. For another instance of a later gloss added to MS Parma 3011, see below, n. 32. The cited text is that of MS Parma 3011 fol. 508r.

[28] A graphic confusion between ה and ר.

[29] The *ḥywt r'wt* ('wild beasts') are a quiet intertextual reference. The adjective may appear unnecessary; it is not needed to clarify that the beasts in question are wild animals, since the noun already connotes wild animals. It does, however, serve to recall the remark that the Bible attributes to Jacob concerning Joseph: 'A wild beast (*ḥyh r'h*) ate him' (Gen. 37:33). The intertext is further underlined by the choice and positioning of references: the nasty beasts appear almost im-

Weinberg (2013, p. 228) understood the language of *grmṭyq'*
as an alternative term for the classical languages, one that desig-
nates 'those languages which are said to obey rules of grammar,
namely Latin and Greek, in contrast to the vernacular, which
is not subject to grammar'. Alexander Kohut viewed it as paral-
lel to a different linguistic category mentioned elsewhere in the
Arukh: 'The language of *pwlyṭyqw*, πολιτικός, is the language of
cities; and this is the language of scholars of the written word
(*ḥkmy hktb*), just like the language of *grmṭyqw'* (Kohut 1878-
1892, p. 152 s.v. אונוס; see also Kohut 1878-1892, p. ix-x). Rapo-
port also reached the conclusion that the term refers to a scholarly
form of Greek, although he framed the opposition in terms of
his abovementioned argument that Nathan learned Greek both
from scholars and from Bible translations. For Rapoport (1829,
p. 9), the language of *grmṭ(y)q'* is the Greek that Nathan picked
up from scholars, as distinguished from the colloquial form of
Greek derived from Bible translations.

While the description of the theater may not have been
composed by Nathan himself, it does support the notion that
the language of *grmṭ(y)q'* is the language of scholars in a milieu
close to that of Nathan. It not only reflects the knowledge that
the Colosseum was called a theater, but also indicates familiar-
ity with the etymology of the term. They call it a theater, runs
the entry, because it is constructed so that people will be able
to see. This emphasis on the visual nature of the theater implies
an awareness that θέατρον comes from the verb θεάομαι, an aware-
ness that suggests a strong familiarity with Greek.[30] It contrasts
sharply with other etymological efforts recorded elsewhere in the
Arukh, such as the attempt to derive *'symwn* (rabbinic term drawn
from the Greek word for uncoined metal, ἄσημον), from *swm'*
(rabbinic term for a blind person; Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. אסימון).

mediately after a citation of Genesis Rabbah 87 concerning Potiphar's wife and
her attempt to seduce Joseph. The juxtaposition of nasty beasts and Potiphar's
wife may play into an older exegetical tradition that connects the two. The end
of Genesis Rabbah 84 reports that Jacob's lament was spoken in a spirit of proph-
ecy; when Jacob mourned that a wild beast had eaten his son, he unwittingly
foretold the attack of Potiphar's wife. This move suggests a subtle engagement
in creative Midrashic exegesis, a tendency that Joanna Weinberg pointed out
elsewhere in the *Arukh* (Weinberg 2013, p. 213-231).

[30] I thank Amit Gvaryahu for this observation.

The deeper knowledge of Greek present in this entry suggests that the language of *grmṭyq'* relates to a scholarly community, the sort of people who would have been able to relate the etymology of θέατρον to its meaning. Furthermore, the entry exhibits knowledge of a division between scholarly and colloquial Greek in the comparison between the language of *grmṭyq'* and contemporary usage, when θέατρον / תאטר in the language of *grmṭyq'* is differentiated from the term as it is used 'until today'. The language of *grmṭ(y)q'*, in other words, is not the language of today.

As Kohut noted, a notion of linguistic differentiation is also apparent in the term *pwlyṭyqw*, which appears in the entry on אונוס:[31]

> אונוס· דמדין· תרגו׳ ירוש׳ כהן מדין· פי׳ חמור שלמדין דיבר המתרגם בגנותו· שכן בלש׳ יון קורין לחמור אונוס· בלש׳ פוליטקו· והשאר קורי׳ לו גיידרו. [32]

> *'wnws* of Midian [is the translation of] the Jerusalem Targum for 'priest of Midian' [Ex. 3:1, 18:1]. The explanation: a donkey of Midian. The translator spoke in disparagement of him [i.e. of Yithro, priest of Midian, by calling him a donkey]. For thus in the language of Greece they call a donkey *'wnws* [ὄνος] in the language of *pwlyṭqw*. And others call it *gyydrw* [γάϊδαρος].[33]

The term *gyydrw* appears several times in rabbinic literature and has its own entry in the *Arukh*, which ends with the statement that 'in the language of Greece, they call the donkey *gyydrw*

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[31] MS London Add. 26881 fol. 2r.

[32] An additional line appears in certain versions of the *Arukh*. Kohut rightly marked this line as a later gloss but mistakenly claimed that it only appears in the first printed edition of the *Arukh* and in MS Saraval 3 and that it therefore offers 'proof to which there is no refutation' that the edition is based on MS Saraval 3. Epstein pointed out that MS Saraval 3's version of the line differs slightly from that of the first printed edition, hence the printed edition cannot be based on MS Saraval 3. Epstein did not note that the line also appears in the thirteenth-century MS Parma 3011, where it agrees with the wording of the first printed edition of the *Arukh*, as cited by Kohut and Epstein. It is therefore a more likely forerunner of the printed edition. There is no basis for Kohut's attempt to obelize earlier bits of the entry along with this additional line. See Kohut 1878-1892, p. 151-152 s.v. אונוס; Kohut 1878-1892, vol. 1, p. liv; Epstein 1983, p. 266 n. 9.

[33] Kriaras 1968-2014, IV, s.v. γάιδαρος. Cf. LSJ, s.v. γαϊδάριον.

(γάϊδαρος)'.[34] Confronted by two different Greek words for 'donkey' in rabbinic literature, Nathan explained the difference by identifying one term as the language of *pwlyṭqw*. Kohut (1878-1892, s.v. אונוס) understood the underlying term as πολιτικός, treated it as synonymous with γραμματικός, and related it to πόλις, explaining that it is 'the language of cities; and this is the language of scholars of the written word'. Kohut did not but could have cited m. *Terumot* 2:5, which mentions 'the food of *pwlyṭyqym* (πολιτικοί)'. The *Arukh* glosses this phrase as 'the food of members of a palace, and some say the delicacies of kings' (Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. פולטק). The jump from an urban or aristocratic type of food to a certain register of language, however, still demands explanation. Luisa Feretti Cuomo (1974, p. 154) proposed that the term might relate to the στίχος πολιτικός, the fifteen-syllable Byzantine verse form that developed around the tenth or eleventh century. It is not clear, however, in what way the στίχος πολιτικός would relate to the difference between those who would use the learned ὄνος and those who would use the vernacular γάϊδαρος (cf. Horrocks 2010, p. 327 & p. 368 n. 1). Marc Lauxtermann suggested to me that the term in question is not πολιτικός but rather πολίτικος, often used to refer to those from Constantinople.[35] It thus reflects a contrast between educated Constantinopolitan speech and the vernacular form. A similar use of Byzantine linguistic categories appears elsewhere in the *Arukh*, in references to *lšwn rwmy* ('the language of Rome'). Kohut (1878-1892, p. viii) misunderstood the phrase to refer to Latin and therefore changed it in multiple entries in which it introduces a Greek lexeme. Ferretti Cuomo (1974, p. 153-157), however, observed that the term always denotes either a Byzantine Greek term or a term that is present in Greek as well as Latin, and she connected the usage to the Byzantines' self-identification as Romans.

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[34] Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. גדרון, MS London Add. 26881 fol. 48v. The term appears in t. *Baba Metzia* 5:8, y. *Baba Metzia* 5:5 (10b), y. *Baba Metzia* 6:3 (11a), and b. *Nedarim* 41a. For a discussion of the term in rabbinic literature, see Lieberman 1955-1988, IX, p. 213-214.

[35] Kriaras 1968-2014, XVII, s.v. πολίτικος. Alternatively, the usage might parallel that of Photius of Constantinople, who used the phrase λόγος πολιτικός to describe a higher form of Greek. See Photius, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia* (ed. 1984), vol. 2, p. 107 Epist. 207.

The *Arukh* evinces some understanding of Greek words. It also evinces some understanding that there are different kinds of Greek words: the sort that one might hear from a learned philosopher, the sort that avoids vernacular words like γάϊδαρος, and the sort that does not. It is an understanding that suggests knowledge of learned circles of Greek scholars.[36]

3. *The Grammatici*

There were also Romans of another kind in Nathan's Rome. While Sznol (2009, p. 117-119) collected traces of Byzantine lexicographic influence on the *Arukh*, other scholars have looked to Latin scholarship for precursors to Nathan's enterprise. Ferretti Cuomo, who pointed out learned and perhaps even monastic influences in the Italian of the *Arukh*, noted certain parallels between Nathan's dictionary and the Latin glossary preserved in MS Ambrosiano C. 243.[37] Israel Ta-Shma concurred that MS Ambrosiano C. 243 may very well have something to do with the *Arukh* but pointed out the difficulty of positing influence from an anonymous work composed two centuries earlier. He suggested a connection to the *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum* of Papias, which was composed in northern Italy only a few decades before Nathan embarked on his project (Ta-Shma 2005, p. 6).

Credited as the first work of Latin lexicography, the *Elementarium* heralds the move from glossaries and translations to lexicons (Berschin 1988, p. 210). Georg Goetz (1903, p. 275-283) pointed out that the work is based on the *Liber glossarum*, a glossary composed in France in the late ninth century, but it also incorporates a great deal of material from other works and commentaries, such as those of Priscian and Isidore of Seville. Max Manitius (1964-1965, vol. 2, p. 717) claimed that Papias' marked interest in explicating Italian place names and relative lack of interest in other locales suggest an Italian origin. Violetta De Angelis argued that the emphasis on Italian topography emerges from

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[36] For another instance of contact between the *Arukh* and Byzantine scribal circles, see Paz & Weiss 2015, p. 64-65.

[37] Ferretti Cuomo 1974, p. 189-193. For a description of the manuscript, see Fissore 1971, p. 392-395.

Papias' sources rather than his own interests, although she later suggested a connection between Papias and Alberic of Monte Cassino (Papias 1977, vol. 1, p. iv-v; De Angelis 1997, p. 713-715). Roberta Cervani noted that the *Ars grammatica*, also attributed to Papias, emphasizes Italian place names even when its source material does not (Papias 1998, p. v-vi).

Ta-Shma (2005, p. 7) claimed that Papias made four innovations in Latin lexicography, all of which are also present in the *Arukh*. Although the suggested parallel between the *Arukh* and the *Elementarium* is compelling, Ta-Shma was not precise in characterizing the innovations of the latter. He claimed, for instance, that 'beside every word ("entry") that he [i.e. Papias] desires to explain he makes sure to add one quotation, or more, from the ancient sources, to exemplify the actual use of the word' (Ta-Shma 2005, p. 7). This appears to be an exaggeration of Olga Weijers' observation that Papias 'regularly inserts quotations to illustrate a term'.[38] Papias did not always append exemplary quotations to his entries. Ta-Shma also misleadingly argues that Papias ventured into the encyclopedic genre by offering more information than is necessary for a dictionary definition. While Weijers (1989, p. 141) did use the phrase 'encyclopedic character', she confined this description to only some of Papias' entries and did not claim that Papias was the first to introduce this style. Indeed, the descriptor 'encyclopedic' is a commonplace in the study of ancient lexicography. As Eleanor Dickey (2007, p. 88) observed, 'an ancient lexicon fulfilled the function of a modern encyclopedia as well as that of a modern dictionary'.

I suggest another instance of overlap between Nathan's work and medieval Latin scholarship. There is a collection of late ninth- or early tenth-century glosses added to a ninth-century codex of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*. The glosses were added in Corbie, an abbey in northern France that possessed a flourishing scriptorium during the Middle Ages.[39] These glosses exhibit a

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[38] Weijers 1989, p. 141; cited by Ta-Shma 2005, p. 7 n. 13. I have found no claim that Papias always added citations in Daly & Daly 1964 or Cremascoli 1969, the other two descriptions of the *Elementarium* cited by Ta-Shma.

[39] Cf. Thurot 1868, p. 65. See Luhtala 2000, p. 129. Dionisotti (1988, p. 49-50) found that the gloss shares a great deal of material with two other glosses

curious approach to morphology. For instance, παθω επαθησα appear in a list of present verbs alongside their aorist forms, with *patior* above the first term (MS Paris lat. 7501 fol. 89v). The glossator thus regularized the aorist form ἔπαθον by replacing the strong ending with a weak one and then back-formed the term to make a new present, ending up with πάθω instead of πάσχω. A similar phenomenon occurred when he used εἶπον as the basis for a new present form (MS Paris lat. 7501 fol. 90v). Above the aorist form he noted *dicebam*, already notable in that he used the progressive aspect of the Latin imperfect to translate the simple aspect of the Greek aorist rather than turning to the Latin perfect. More interesting, however, is the following ειπω juxtaposed with *dico*. Again, he back-formed the present form from the aorist.

The glossator often attempted to pull apart words. For instance, he translated σύγκρισις as *commixtura* and then explained that συν- means *con-* and κρίσις means *mixtura* or *temperatio*, thereby flipping the meaning of κρίσις from 'separation, distinguishing' to 'combining'.[40] He offered two explanations for Erebos: it could mean 'the opponent of life', from ἔρις and βίῳ, or, alternatively, 'remove from life', from ἀείρω or αἱρέω and βίῳ.[41] The glossator clearly knew what Erebos means and attempted to break the word into component parts that reflect this meaning. He similarly explained εὐσεβής, piety, as 'ευ good, σεβης veneration. ἀσεβής wicked', producing a non-word like 'σεβης' through his interest in word decomposition.[42] The underlying logic seems

on Priscian and suggested, 'perhaps the immediate source of all three was John Scotus' copy of Priscian'. See also Luhtala 2000, p. 117 & 130.

[40] συνκρισις *id est commixtura. a* συν *id est con et* κρισις *id est mixtura vel temperatio. quando due vocales similes in unum sonum miscentur* σινκρισις *dicitur* (MS Paris lat. 7501 fol. 60v). It is possible that confusion with κρᾶσις partly motivates the rendering of κρίσις, as one of my anonymous readers suggested. However, there is also an apparent preference for explanations of the elements of the compound that will add up to the meaning of the compound as a whole; if σύγκρισις means *commixtura*, then κρίσις should mean *mixtura*, even if it does not.

[41] ερεβυς *id est contrarius vitae. ab* ερις *id est contentio et* βιω. *id est vivo. vel ab* αρω *id est tollo. et* βιω *id est vivo. id est tollens de vita. scilicet* ερεβυς. MS Paris lat. 7501 fol. 60v. I owe the suggestion of ἀείρω to Raf Van Rooy.

[42] ευσεβης. ευ *bonus* σεβες. *cultus* ασιβης. *impius*. MS Paris lat. 7501 fol. 120r. The second epsilon of σεβες has been corrected to an eta between the lines. The eta of ασιβης is scratched out and corrected with another eta. The explanations of σεβες and ασιβης are also separated by a marginal *vel*.

to be that each component part must contribute something new to the meaning of a word.

Bernhard Bischoff (1951, p. 51) cited the practices reflected in these glosses as the beginning of a larger trend that overtook Greek studies in the tenth and eleventh centuries: 'Compounds, often only half-understood, were separated by etymologizing, [and] the parts taken for self-standing words'.[43] In Bischoff's view, this tendency characterized the approach to morphology that prevailed at the time.

The search for precise equivalences in Greek appears in the *Arukh*, which preserves a number of attempts to identify and define the elements of Greek compounds. Occasionally, exact correspondence between the components of a Greek term and its Hebrew translation are sought in a manner reminiscent of the glossator on Priscian.[44]

The following table presents a selection of these attempts:[45]

Translation	Explanation in the *Arukh*	Greek	Entry
The explanation: *'ylyw* (ἡλίου-) sun, *pwlys* (πόλις) city.	פי׳ איליו׳ שמש, פולים עיר.[46]	Ἡλιούπολις	איליופולים *'ylywpwlys*
The explanation: in the language of Greece *'lywtrw* (ἐλευθερο-) freedom, *pwlys* (πόλις) city.	פי׳ בל״יי אליותרו חירות, פולים. עיר.	Ἐλευθερόπολις	אליותרופולים *'lywtrwpwlys*
The explanation: Greek language; *'h* (ἀ-) not, *tnsy'h* (-θανασια) death.	פי׳ לשו׳ יון אה׳ אל׳ תנסיאה׳ מות.[47]	ἀθανασία	אתנסיאה *'tnsy'h*

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[43] 'Komposita, oft nur halb verstanden, wurden beim Etymologisieren auseinandergeschnitten, die Teile für selbständige Wörter genommen'.

[44] Sznol 2009, p. 114-115, noted Nathan's identification of the elements of compounds, and some of her examples overlap with my own.

[45] The following glosses draw Greek terms and many of their explanations from rabbinic literature, but not, as far as I can tell, their dissection into parts. For instance, the entry on *'tnsy'h* cites Leviticus Rabbah 11:9 (ed. Margulies, p. 341-342) and y. *Moed Katan* 3:7 (33b), which report that the Greek term appeared in Aquila's translation as a rendering of the biblical term *'lmwt*. These sources do not, however, parse the term as the *Arukh* does.

[46] Text from Kohut 1878-1892, as is that of the following entry. MS London Add. 26881 begins shortly after these entries.

[47] MS London Add. 26881 fol. 20r.

Translation	Explanation in the *Arukh*	Greek	Entry
The explanation: mother of cities. That is to say, great among cities. Mother in a foreign language (Italian) is *mṭry* (*madre*), *pwlyn* (πόλιν) in the language of Rome[48] is city.	פי׳ אם שלעיירות· כלומ׳ גדולה שלעיירות· אם בלע׳ מטרי· פולין בלש׳ רומי עיר· [49]	μητρόπολιν	מטרפלין *mṭrplyn*
Greek language; *mwnw* (μονο-) single, *mkws* (-μαχος) fighter.	לש׳ יווני מונו יחיד· מכוס לוחם· [50]	μονόμαχος	מנמכוס *mnmkws*
The explanation: in the language of Greece *qwzmw* (κοσμο-) world, *qrṭwr* (κράτωρ) one who seizes.	פי׳ בלש׳ יון קוזמו עולם · קרטור תופש· [51]	κοσμοκράτωρ	קוזמקרטור *qwzmqrṭwr* [52]

Like the glosses on Priscian, these explanations split words into smaller bits, sometimes at the expense of the Greek. Thus they produce a term like θανασια, whose semantic import is drawn from θάνατος but whose form is shaped to match ἀθανασία. The formation of πόλιν in the entry on *mṭrplyn* also reflects an attempt to present the term exactly as it appears in the compound word. The accusative form appears here instead of the nominative forms given in the parsings of Ἡλιούπολις and Ἐλευθερόπολις, presumably so as to match the compound as it appears in rabbinic texts.[53]

The same style of parsing appears as well in the entry on הן. There is a citation of b. *Baba Batra* 164b, which notes that *hyn'* (ἕνα) means 'one'. The entry then lists the first five Greek numbers and their Hebrew counterparts, a list inspired by the continuation of the passage in *Baba Batra* but slightly different:

פי׳ בלש׳ [יון] קורין לׄאחת הינא· שתים דיו· שלש טריא· ארבע טטרגון· חמשה פנטי· וכן פינה בלש׳ יון גוניא וכשרוצה לומר בית זה יש לו ג׳ פינות· או׳ בית זה טריגון· פירושו טרי שלש ·גון· פינה ·וכן כולם·

⁴⁸ Contra Kohut 1878-1892, vol. 1, p. viii, who changed *rwmy* to *ywn* because he understood *lšwn rwmy* as Latin.

⁴⁹ MS London Add. 26881 fol. 216v.

⁵⁰ MS London Add. 26881 fol. 224r.

⁵¹ MS London Add. 26881 fol. 339r.

⁵² *Qwzmqrṭws* in MS London Add. 26881.

⁵³ The accusative form is a feature of the rabbinic texts in which μητρόπολιν appears.

> The explanation: in the language of Greece, they call 'one' *hyn'* [ἔνα], 'two' *dyw* [δύο], 'three' *try'* [τρία], 'four' *ṭṭrgwn* [τετράγωνος?], 'five' *pnṭy* [πέντε], and thus 'corner' in the language of Greece is *gwny'* [γωνία]. And when one wants to say, 'This house has three corners', one says, 'This house is *trygwn* [τρίγωνος]'. The explanation of it: *try* [τρι] 'three', *gwn* [γων] 'corner'. And thus [for] all of them.[54]

These numbers echo but do not entirely accord with those that appear in b. *Baba Batra* 164b, which lists *hn*, *dygwn*, *trgwn*, *ṭṭrgwn*, and *pnṭygwn*, apparently from the Greek ἔν, δίγωνος, τρίγωνος, τετράγωνος, and πεντάγωνος, respectively.[55] The *Arukh*, on the other hand, adjusts this list, first glossing *dyw*, *try'*, and *pnṭy* and only thereafter explaining *gwny'*. This presentation reflects an attention to the division of compound words, even when there is no such attention in the sources of the *Arukh*. The pull-apart method appears even more clearly in the final explanation of the entry, in which *trygwn* is first explained and then glossed as '*try* [τρι] "three", *gwn* [γων] "corner"'. The roots of a compound, and not just its meaning, require elucidation.

This phenomenon resembles *notaricon*, a method already present in classical rabbinic literature. Rabbinic thinkers analyzed strange words and names by dissecting them in various ways. Genesis Rabbah 42 explained the name of the biblical king Amraphel as *'ymrh 'pylh* ('dark speech'), while the term *dy'tyqy* ('will', διαθήκη) is glossed as *d' th' lmyqm* ('this shall be fulfilled'; b. *Baba Batra* 135b, b. *Baba Metzia* 19a). This approach is quite common in rabbinic literature.

We could thus dismiss the Corbie glossator and assume that the pull-apart tendency found in the *Arukh* emerges from a similar tendency in earlier rabbinic literature, except that there is an important difference between the two approaches. Earlier Rabbis regularly approximated: *'mrpl* became *'ymrh 'pylh*; *dy'tyqy*

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[54] MS London Add. 26881 fol. 97r. Similar lists appear in t. *Nazir* 1:2, t. *Negaim* 6:3, and y. *Nazir* 1:2 (52b), but the *Arukh* cites only b. *Baba Batra* 164b.

[55] MS Paris 1337, fol. 114v. For a discussion of δίγωνος, see Jastrow 1903, s.v. דיגון, and Lieberman 1955-1988, VII, p. 504. Note, however, that the term δίγωνος, although not in LSJ, does appear in the sixth-century CE treatise of Aëtius of Amida. See his *Tetrab.* 90.13.

became *d' th' lmyqm*. Aharon Glatzer (2015, p. 16-17, 23-26 & 30) found seven instances in which the Sifre to Numbers explained a name or word by separating it into separate words. Each instance involves the deletion, addition, or exchange of one or more letters. Although there are instances in classical rabbinic literature in which a word was split into two without further changes, the many instances in which alterations are present suggest that precise equivalence was not considered integral to the method (see Lieberman 1962, p. 69-75, for examples). In the entry on נוטריקון, the *Arukh* explains the method as 'one writes one letter that is made a symbol for an entire matter', thereby describing the method of *notaricon* as a form of abbreviation (MS London Add. 26881 fol. 243r).

By contrast, the *Arukh* often breaks apart Greek terms with careful attention to precise equivalence, without introducing or changing letters in the split. The goal was not to explain the meanings of the words but merely to explain how to analyze them. This is particularly apparent in the entry on *mṭrplyn* (μητρόπολιν), where the meaning of the term ('mother of cities') is followed by an explanation as to how precisely each element of the word fits into this meaning. Similarly, in the entry on *'ylywpwlys* (Ἡλιούπολις), it was not enough merely to cite the *Pesikta deRav Kahana*, which explained that 'the city of the sun' is Heliopolis: there was also a need to explain that ἡλίου means 'sun' and πόλις means 'city' (*Pesikta deRav Kahana*, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 126). One can detect a whiff of the Corbie glossator here, the scholar who knows what σύγκρισις and εὐσεβής mean but insists on clarifying how each element of the terms contributes to these meanings.

One early reader of the *Arukh* played out the funny directions in which the pull-apart approach can lead. The entry heading for Ἐλευθερόπολις in MS Bern 200, a shortened version of the *Arukh* from 1290, is only *'lywtry* (ἐλευθερο-). Πόλις follows, but with a space break in between and in smaller text that signifies that it is not part of the entry heading (MS Bern 200 fol. 117v). A similar oddity appears in the MS Bern 200 entry on *'pwṭrwpws* (ἐπίτροπος). The *Arukh* features a misunderstanding as to the breakdown and etymology of the compound, explaining it as 'the father of children; in the language of Greece: *pṭr* (πατὴρ)

pdy'h (παίδια), and thus in a foreign language (Italian), father is *pṭr* (*padre*)'.[56] The explanation requires a division of ἐπίτροπος after its third syllable rather than its second. The MS Berne 200 entry heading for ἐπίτροπος is simply *'pwṭrw* (ἐπίτρο-); the ending *pws* (-πος) was added later (MS Bern 200 fol. 121v). As Berschin would have complained, the parts are taken for self-standing words.

Hints of Greek and Latin scholarly circles lurk in a medieval rabbinic lexicon. A notion of different registers of Greek is present, and occasionally even labeled with Byzantine terminology. A habit of parsing words resembles the approach of a Corbie glossator. From the dictionary itself, from the instrument that defines and demarcates the boundaries of a language, emerges the foreign.

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[56] Nathan, *Arukh*, s.v. אפוטרופוס, MS 26881 fol. 8v. Cf. Sznol 2009, p. 114. Kohut 1878-1892 glossed *pṭr pdy'h* as πατὴρ παιδῶν.

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Abstract

The *Arukh* of Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome is a lexicon of rabbinic terminology, a deeply erudite and highly influential work that features citations of rabbinic literature, explanations of difficult rabbinic terms, and references to other languages, particularly Greek. This paper argues that there is no evidence that Nathan learned Greek from the study of written Bible translations, as was previously supposed. The discussions of Greek found within the lexicon do, however, exhibit traces of contacts with Latin and Byzantine Greek scholarly circles.

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THE *MAḤBAROT* OF 'IMMANU'EL OF ROME AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

Introduction

One of the main representatives of Italian Jewish culture in the Middle Ages was 'Immanu'el ben Shelomoh, brought up in the multiethnic and multicultural Rome of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[1] As a man of great culture, expert on Holy Scriptures and Talmudic literature, and lover of philosophy and science he soon emerged as an important figure within the Jewish community, in which he took on important roles and responsibilities. Apart from working as a doctor,[2] he was also the secretary (*sofer*) of the Jewish community, and as such very close to the papal circle.[3]

At that time, the city of Rome was an extraordinary intellectual hub, attracting scholars from every part of Europe, bringing with them very different linguistic traditions and cultures,

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[1] On the different names that appear in the manuscript tradition, see Alfie 1998, p. 311-314. On his life, see Modona 1904, p. 14-15; Lewis 1934-1935, p. 277 & 280-282; van Bekkum 2007, p. 203-212. On his date of birth, see the discussion in Roth 1951, p. 428; Shaked 2002, p. 167, dates his birth in 1292; *contra* Foà 2004. 'Immanu'el died between 1328 and 1336. For brief references to the life of the poet, see Gottheil & Elbogen 1904, p. 563-564; Enelow 1925-1926, p. 209-212; Beggiato & Rinaldi 1971, p. 375-376; Battistoni 1995, p. 35-69. 'Immanu'el aroused great interest among poets of successive generations. The famous poet and novelist Saul Tchernikhovsky (1875-1943) wrote a unique critical essay dedicated to him in 1925.

[2] *Maḥbarot* XI, XXIII. This information is considered unreliable today: see Foà 2004.

[3] On the condition of the Jewish communities in Rome and more generally on the historical and cultural climate, see Modona 1904, p. 22-32; Milano 1992, p. 74-82 & 146-150.

inciting intense cultural exchanges (Busi 1990; Berliner 1992). It is known that our poet lived there until around 1321, when because of the anti-Semitic policy of Pope John XXII, he was obliged to go from court to court in search of a patron willing to offer him accommodations in exchange for his literary services (*Maḥberet* XXIV; Roth 1951, p. 425; Alfie 1998, p. 314-324). To this purpose, he visited several cities in the north of Italy, in the Umbria, Marches and Veneto regions. In each of these Italian towns, 'Immanu'el succeeded in meeting with influential people and obtaining the help of other wealthy Jews and Christians, whom he called *śarim*. Unwilling to side with any political faction, he preferred to create friendship relationships, above all with intellectuals of every faith, with whom he had conversations on religious, philosophic and literary themes drawn from the Jewish, Arabic and Italian traditions.

In the famous *frottola Bisbidis*, written in the Italian vernacular, during his stay at Cangrande Della Scala's court, he wrote with admiration and praise:

Quivi Astrologia	Here astrology,
con Philosophia	with philosophy
et di Teologia	and theology
udrai disputare.	you will hear discussed.
Quivi Tedeschi	Here Germans,
Latini et Franceschi	Latins and French,
Fiamminghi e Ingheleschi	Flemish and English
insieme parlare.[4]	speak together.

It is possible to understand his wide cultural education from the reading of his 28 *maḥbarot*, which he composed in Hebrew in the course of his life and published in one volume in Fermo in 1328.[5] Poetry and prose alternate in a narrative text which pro-

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[4] For a detailed analysis, see Battistoni 2004; Fortis 2017, p. 82-102.

[5] It is a Jewish revisitation of a literary genre widely in use in the Arabic world, where it was called *maqāma*. In its original form it was a narration inspired by concrete facts or completely derived from the writer's imagination, written in rhymed prose and interspersed with poetry (Hämeen-Anttila 2002; Allen 2006, p. 197-202). One of the best writers of Arabic literature, who influenced 'Immanu'el's literary production, was al Hariri (d. 1122), whose *maqāmat* were translated into Hebrew by the poet Yehudah al Ḥarizi in the *Sefer Taḥkemoni* (*The Book of the Wise Man*). See Drory 1994, p. 68-85. 'Immanu'el quotes the

vides many useful elements to understand the multifaceted culture of the author and his cultural-historical context.[6]

It is my intention in this paper to underline the relationship the author had with classical culture, defining wherever possible his experience with classical works, or at least pointing to some thematic similarities. Considering the fact that 'Immanu'el lived in Italy, staying at many Italian courts where the dominant cultural context was based on the classical world, we may assume that he was certainly conscious of it, probably listening in on debates or disquisitions on famous authors and works of antiquity at several occasions. The most difficult aspect is understanding 'Immanu'el's interest in this significant heritage and its possible cultural influences in his works.

'Immanu'el and the Classical Tradition

I will examine some of his *maḥbarot*, which can serve as the start of a more detailed work, which could consider all of his poetic production.[7] Let me begin with the well-known 28th *maḥberet Hell and Paradise* (*Ha-tofet we-ha-'eden*), in which 'Immanu'el undertakes a journey to hell (Fishlov 1991, p. 19-42; Fishkin 2011). Here he presents a long series of damned souls, taken from the Jewish and Arabic as well as from the classical world:

שָׁם אֲרִיסְטוֹטְלוֹס בּוֹשׁ וְנֶאֱלָם
עַל אֲשֶׁר הֶאֱמִין קַדְמוּת הָעוֹלָם
שָׁם גַּלְיָאנוּס רֹאשׁ הָרוֹפְאִים
עַל אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח יַד לְשׁוֹנוֹ לְדַבֵּר בְּמֹשֶׁה אֲדוֹן הַנְּבִיאִים
[...]
שָׁם אַפְלָטוֹן רֹאשׁ לַמְּבִינִים
יַעַן אֲשֶׁר אָמַר כִּי לַיְחָשִׁים וְלַמִּינִים
יֵשׁ חוּץ לַשֵּׂכֶל מְצִיאוּת
וְחָשַׁב דְּבָרָיו דִּבְרֵי נְבִיאוֹת
שָׁם אִפּוֹקְרָט יַעַן אֲשֶׁר הָיָה כִּילַי מֵחָכְמָתוֹ
וְהֶעֱלִים סִפְרֵי רְפוּאָתוֹ

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book in the introduction of his *maḥbarot* with words of appreciation and praise. See Malkiel 1996, p. 169-173.

   [6] About the cultural relationships between Christians and Jews, see Dahan 1990; Bonfil 1996 and 2000.

   [7] The quotations are taken from the edition of *maḥbarot* published by D. Jarden in 1957.

> There was Aristotle humiliated and silenced,
> because he believed in the pre-existence of the universe.
> There was Galen, the head of the doctors,
> because he dared to speak against Moses, the Lord of the
> Prophets.
> [...]
> There was Plato, the highest of thinkers,
> because he said that the relationships between belonging and
> the species
> are external to intellect,
> and because he considered his words to be those of a prophet.
> There was Hippocrates, because his knowledge was hybrid
> and he hid his books of medicine.
> (Battistoni 2000, p. 165)

It is worth noting that some souls, like the emperor Titus, who was responsible for a great amount of suffering by the Hebrews (וְשָׁם טִיטוּס הָרָשָׁע; Battistoni 2000, p. 166, v. 77-78), are simply mentioned by name by ‘Immanu’el, while for others, in particular the ones I previously mentioned, he also specified why they were in hell. The explicit reference to the doctrines of Aristotle and Plato, two *auctoritates* in the medieval world, would make us believe that he knew their philosophical works well. It is worth remembering that one of ‘Immanu’el’s masters was the poet Zerahyah ben Yishaq (last quarter of the thirteenth century), a Spanish Jew (Sermoneta 1965, p. 8-14). He introduced ‘Immanu’el to the study of biblical exegesis in an allegorical way, to the knowledge of Aristotle’s works, and to the great Jewish philosophers, in particular Maimonides (1135-1204), and to the Arabic ones, like Averroes (1126-1198) and Al-Farabi (*c.* 870-950). It is not coincidental that he also explicitly included the reasons for the damnation of these two Arabic philosophers in even more detail than for the Greek ones (Schechterman 1991, p. 511-521; Bertolacci 2005, p. 522-626). A second person also influenced the cultural education of the poet: namely Yehudah ben Mosheh (active between 1310 and 1330), brother or cousin of ‘Immanu’el, who translated in Rome scholastic works circulating in Italy into Hebrew (Sermoneta 1963, p. 24-27; 1965, p. 20-71). Finally, a third person worthy of mention is Ya‘aqov Anatoly (1194-1256), who is quoted by ‘Immanu’el on various occasions in his *maḥbarot*; it is known that he lived for a long period in the court

of Frederick II, where he worked closely with the philospher Michael Scot, translating the works of Averroes and Aristotle (Pepi 2005; *Malmad ha-talmidim* is his most famous work). All of this information shows that 'Immanu'el had more than superficial knowledge of the works of Aristotle and Plato. He certainly knew the most hotly debated questions, at least through the speculation of Maimonides, so much so that he gave his opinion, even if briefly, on the literary aspect of Maimonides' work.

Furthermore, the convergence of interests between the Jewish and classical culture is deeply rooted and dates back to the third century BC, in the so-called Alexandrian period. In his work *On the Jews*, the Jewish historian Artapanus (second century BC) traced a link between Moses and the poet Musaeus, establishing a direct line between the work of the patriarch, and the birth of poetry and the oracular art in Greece.[8] Successively, Aristobulus (second century BC) and Philo of Alexandria (first century BC) did the same by uniting Greek and Jewish traditions.[9] In particular, Aristobulus claimed that Greek derived from Jewish culture; Pythagoras and Plato learned philosophy from Moses. Law and philosophy would therefore have been connected. In a passage from the *Letter of Aristeas*, the king Ptolemy Philadelphus was said to have exclaimed in admiration to Demetrius, his librarian: 'How is it possible that no historian or poet has ever thought of quoting such a masterpiece?', referring to the translation of the Septuagint. At the end of the work we can read: 'Here is the story, Philocrates, as I had promised you. I am sure that this story will give you more pleasure than mythology'.[10]

This competition between the classical and the Jewish worlds lasted until the age of 'Immanu'el. In particular, there was a big divide between those who wanted to insert the Jewish tradition into Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism, on the one hand, and those who believed it was necessary to maintain the literal meaning of the text, on the other. We can also find echoes of this argument in the Christian world: in the *Disputation between a Jew and a Christian*, Gilbert Crispin pointed out to his Jewish inter-

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[8] Toy & Ginzberg 1906; Droge 1989; Calabi 2010, p. 16-17.

[9] Holladay 1995; Calabi 2010, p. 32-38 & 39-94.

[10] *Letter of Aristeas* 312 & 322 (translation of Calabi 2002); Parente 1972, p. 177-237 & 517-567.

locutor that the biblical verses need to be understood in depth (*divino quidem sensu legis mandata intelligenda esse*) in order to avoid wrong interpretations (Abulafia & Evans 1987, p. 11). The Jew criticized the superficiality of the Christians in their exegetic work because they usually distorted the real biblical meaning with their allegorical and metaphorical interpretations (*allegorias et figuras ponitis et ubicumque littera sensui vestro repugnat*; Abulafia & Evans 1987, p. 58).

Likewise, in the *Dialogue between a philosopher, a Jew and a Christian* by Peter Abelard, the Christian says to the philosopher: *Si prophetizare magis quam iudaizare in litera nosses* ('if you learned to prophesy more than to Judaize'), that is to say to interpret philosophically rather than literally, as the Jews did (*Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum* 2792-2793). 'Immanu'el also took part in this debate, and in the 28th *maḥberet*, he specified his position. In his journey to the Inferno, the poet met two men whom he knew, and he was astonished by their condition:

כִּי הָיוּ מִן הַיּוֹשְׁבִים רִאשׁוֹנָה
בְּמַלְכוּת הַדַּעַת וְהַתְּבוּנָה

Because they were sitting in the front row
in the kingdom of science and knowledge.
(*Ha-Tofet*, 234)

Their guilt was shown by many circumstances and linked to their erroneous interpretation of the sacred scriptures, aimed at a utilitarian and misleading reading:

אָמְרוּ כִּי מָצְאוּ כָתוּב בְּחָכְמָה יְוָנִית
שֶׁלִּי שֶׁלִּי וְשֶׁלְּךָ שֶׁלָּךְ זוֹ מִדָּה בֵינוֹנִית

They said to have found in Greek wisdom:
'What is mine is mine and what is yours is yours: this is the right measure'.

'Immanu'el commented:

שָׁחְכוּ כִּי הִיא מִדַּת סְדוֹם וַעֲמוֹרָה

They forgot that this is the measure of Sodom and Gomorrah.
(*Ha-Tofet*, 243-244)

He added:

לֹא רָצָה לָדַעַת מִן הַפָּרָשָׁה רַק הַמִּדְרָשׁ
וְעִבְרִי וּמְפֹרָשׁ
וְכָל דָּבָר שִׂכְלִי כַּיָּם נִגְרָשׁ
[...]
יֹאמְרוּ כִּי חָכְמַת הַהִגָּיוֹן
הֶבֶל וָרִיק וּכְדַי בְּזָיוֹן
וּמִן הַלּוֹמְדִים חָכְמוֹת הַפִּלוֹסוֹפִים
[...]
יֹאמְרוּ כִּי מַלּוּחַ עֲלֵי שִׂיחַ קוֹטְפִים
חָשְׁבוּ כִּי בְהִתְרַחֲקָם מֵהַבֵּט אֶל דְּבַר חָכְמָה יֵרָצוּ

> From the Parasha they only wanted to know the Midrash
> and therefore the Hebrew source, the translation,
> and every rational thing has been pushed away like the waves
> of the sea.
> [...]
> They said that the science of reasoning [logic]
> is idle, empty, and to be despised,
> and about those who study the science of philosophy
> [...]
> they said that they pull mallow from grass:
> they think they are admired by moving away from the word
> of wisdom.
>
> (*Ha-Tofet*, 263-269)

It is commonly known that the concept of the right measure was introduced by Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, defining it as the attitude (*hexis*) of a wise man (*phronimos*) who uses logic to find virtue (*Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 6 [1107a]). ʿImmanuʾel seems to indicate that the true right measure does not include biblical interpretations which are exclusively based on allegorical readings, especially if they are used in an instrumental manner, but he suggests a balance between the literal comprehension of the text with the science of reason, the Logos. Following his masters' teaching, ʿImmanuʾel underlined the necessity to connect his own reading schemes from the Jewish world (which is what Peter Abelard would have called 'Judaize') with those coming from the Greek Hellenistic knowledge (that is 'prophesy'), which is the subject of 'those who study the science of philosophy' (הַלּוֹמְדִים חָכְמוֹת הַפִּלוֹסוֹפִים). He, in fact, had investigated the holy scriptures in its literal and allegorical layers, with the objective of finding the philosophical and theological connections.

As for the reference to Hippocrates and Galen, it is no wonder that 'Immanu'el, likely a doctor by profession, knew these two authors, who, in medieval times, together with Avicenna, were considered to be the most learned in the art of medicine. Their works were usually known in Latin from the Arabic translations of the Greek works, which circulated in their full or summarized versions in the cultural circles of the great eastern and western cities. It is not by chance that the same triad can also be found in the fourth canto of Dante's *Inferno*: 'Hippocrates, Avicenna, and Galen' together with 'Averroes, who the great comment made',[11] sitting in Limbo, the first circle of hell, 'with his philosophic family' to admire and honor 'the master of those who know', in other words: Aristotle.[12] It is certain that these authors were well-known among medieval Jewish intellectuals as is proved by several quotes in Hebrew works, for instance by Ibn Zabara, the author of *Sefer ha-Sha'ashu'im* (*The Book of Delights*), who lived between 1140 and 1200 in Catalonia and in the city of Narbonne, in the Provence region (Schippers 1999, p. 149-161; Tamani 2004, p. 87-88). It is not by chance that the book of Ibn Zabara opens with three quotations, respectively from Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Galen:

> Once they asked the wise Hippocrates: 'What is sleep?' And he said: 'Strength descending toward the depths of the soul until the body finds rest and breath'. And Aristotle said: 'Natural sleep is the cure for every illness'. And Galen said: 'Natural sleep invigorates strength and weakens the humor'. (Ibn Zabara, *Il libro delle delizie*, ed. Piattelli, p. 3-4)

Ibn Zabara added numerous other quotations from Greek philosophers like Plato, Socrates, and Diogenes. He, like 'Immanu'el, was a doctor and knew Arabic, the culture of Provence, and wrote tales based on the *maqāma* genre enriched by quotations from classical culture. He must have had a cultural education similar to 'Immanu'el's.

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[11] Dante Alighieri, *Comedia*, Inferno, v. 143-144: *Ipocrate, Avicenna e Galieno / Averois che 'l gran comento feo.*

[12] Dante Alighieri, *Comedia*, Inferno, v. 131-132: *Tra filosofica famiglia / Il maestro di color che sanno.*

It is quite surprising that we do not find any direct references to classical authors in a work widely used as a model by 'Immanu'el, the *Sefer Taḥkemoni* (*The Book of the Wise Man*), written by the Jewish poet Yehudah al Ḥarizi (1170-1235), originally from Andalusia, but living in Provence. He had translated the *maqāmāt* by the Arabic author al Hariri, whom 'Immanu'el mentioned with admiration (Yehudah al Ḥarizi, *The Book of Taḥkemoni*, ed. D. S. Segal). In the introduction to the first *maḥberet*, 'Immanu'el related how he was urged by his *śar* to write poems imitating Yehudah al Ḥarizi who filled his book 'of poems and proses of great strength and with new phrases that the ancestors ignored'. Going beyond the correct translation of the term *harishonim*, which Fumagalli and Mayer, for example, translated in Italian as *antichi*, leaving room for misunderstanding (it would be more correct to say 'ancestors'), it is evident that al Ḥarizi wanted to distinguish himself from the poetry of the past by highlighting the originality of his work.[13] 'Immanu'el's reply to his *śar*'s solicitation is a beautiful example of oratory art: first saying 'there was no human intellect who, elevated and lifted, could write verses that he [al Ḥarizi] had not already previously written', he went on to argue that only divine intervention enabled him to write an original work: 'and I asked God to indicate how much I should have said [...] so that my meditation would be his mouth'.[14] In other words, his poetry, full of divine knowledge, became prophecy and enabled him to reign over all the others.

The few but significant quotes from classical authors in 'Immanu'el suggest that he wanted his readers to know that he was learned in the great classical tradition by which his Italian scholarly colleagues were also inspired. And at the same time, like his model al Ḥarizi, he followed his own artistic road. Modona (1904, p. 153) stated that:

> The ego is his predominant note. He writes about any topic and under the most varied forms and seems to have nothing except his own exaltation. This is a serious defect but attenu-

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[13] 'Immanu'el Romano, *Maḥberet Prima* (Il destino), ed. Fumagalli & Mayer, p. 26-29.

[14] 'Immanu'el Romano, *Maḥberet Prima* (Il destino), ed. Fumagalli & Mayer, p. 29-31.

ated in him by the intimate conscience that he shows to have, concerning his own superiority and his literary and poetic value.[15]

It is evident that ʻImmanuʼel was aware of the similarities between the themes in Hebrew literature, deeply influenced by the Arabic one, and the Italian production in Sicilian and Tuscan dialects which were inspired by the classical models (Belli 1970, Bregman 1988-1989 and 1994). He certainly was familiar with specific themes, and with stylistic and rhythmical features of these literatures, showing that he openly wanted to measure himself against them, as the following examples illustrate.

In the sixth *maḥberet*, he reconstructed a duel between himself and a poet from Provence who was convinced of the superiority of poetry from Provence and Spain. ʻImmanuʼel replied with admirable mastery to a series of questions from the poet of Provence, skillfully using biblical quotations in their different meanings.

In the ninth *maḥberet*, the poet, instead, accepted a challenge from his *śar* who admired ʻsome poems written by Christian poets'. He was particularly struck by ʻa canto praising all the works of creation, all countries, all kingdoms, all languages, and all sciences: all in one poem'. ʻImmanuʼel was asked to create a poem of similar beauty in Hebrew. It is very possible that his Christian rival resorted to the ancient *sapientia* to which ʻImmanuʼel managed yet again to reply with great authority. In this way, the rich cultural experience of ʻImmanuʼel fits in the theme of the cultural meeting between Jewish intellectuals, Christians (who were the first to inherit classical culture), and Muslims that characterized his time. In this kind of cultural relationship, it is very hard to define the contribution of each tradition. In this specific case, we should ask how much ʻImmanuʼel relied upon the classics. It is difficult to reply to this question, at least at present. Certainly, the circle in which he moved – the people he met in Italy, strongly influenced by classical culture – offered him the

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[15] ʻLʼ*io* è la nota predominante, ed intorno a qualsiasi argomento egli scriva e sotto le più svariate forme, sembra non abbia di mira che la propria esaltazione. E questo è un difetto grave ma attenuato in lui dallʼintima coscienza che mostra avere e della propria superiorità e del suo valore letterario e poetico'.

possibility to discuss themes from the classics. Apart from the direct references to authors from antiquity, the *maḥbarot* by 'Immanu'el contain an interesting series of literary topics which fit perfectly when compared with thematic examples from the classical tradition. Considering the notion of time (*zeman*), a theme which was very dear to 'Immanu'el, allows me to draw some conclusions.

'Immanu'el wrote in the 19th *maḥberet*:

יְמֵי אָדָם שְׁלֹשָׁה הֵם בְּמִסְפָּר
תְּמוֹל חָלַף כְּבָר עָבַר זְמַנּוּ
וְהַיּוֹם הוּא כְּמוֹ חוֹלֵף וְאֵינוּ
וּמָחָר נֶעֱלָם אֵין מִי יְבִינוּ.

> A man's days are three in numbers:
> yesterday, which has gone by,
> today which is going by,
> and tomorrow which is unknown.

It is obvious that biblical knowledge is behind these verses ('there is a time for birth and a time for death; a time for planting and a time for uprooting'),[16] but this fits in perfectly with the Greek and Roman traditions which had reached the highest level of philosophical speculations. Horace said:

> [...] *Dum loquimur fugerit invida*
> *aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.*

> And now, while we are speaking, time has already escaped, as if he hated us. Therefore, seize the day, do not believe in tomorrow.

> (Horace, *Carmina*, 1.11.8)

But above all, the comparison with Seneca is obvious:

> *In tria tempora vita dividitur: quod fuit, quod est, quod futurum est. Ex his quod agimus breve est, quod acturi sumus dubium, quod egimus certum.*

> Life is divided into three moments: past, present and future. Of these, present is short, the future is uncertain, and the past is sure.

> (Seneca, *De brevitate vitae*, 10.2)

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[16] Eccl. 3:1: עֵת לָלֶדֶת וְעֵת לָמוּת עֵת לָטַעַת וְעֵת לַעֲקוֹר נָטוּעַ.

Even al Ḥarizi in the fifth chapter of Taḥkemoni picked up on an epicurean Greek aphorism:

> Choose to rejoice while you walk the earth:
> soon you are dust and can nothing choose.
> (Yehudah al Ḥarizi, *The Book of Taḥkemoni*, ed. D. S. Segal, p. 64)

It is not by chance, once again, to find these authors in Dante's Limbo: 'He who comes next is Horace, the satirist'; and then: 'and I saw, Tully and Livy and moral Seneca!' [17]

While it is obvious that the 28th *maḥberet* (Inferno and Paradise) was inspired by the *Divine Comedy* of Dante, it is plausible that 'Immanu'el had read the *auctoritates* that Dante regarded as the pillars of classical and western culture, and had talked about them with their common friends (Roth 1953, p. 26-32). It is certain that classical literature was available in Jewish intellectual circles, as demonstrated by the famous tale of *The Matron of Ephesus*, from the *Satyricon* (111-112) by Petronius, which the Jewish poet Ibn Zabara recuperated in his *Book of Delights* (sixth novel, ed. Piattelli, p. 30-33).

At the same time, it has been demonstrated that the authors of antiquity and medieval times obtained ideas and thoughts from the Jewish world. Roberto Radice (1989, p. 281-309), for example, highlighted the link between some philosophical thoughts by Seneca and the publications of Philo of Alexandria. In the same way, authors like Sandra de Benedetti Stow (2004) or Fabrizio Lelli (2012, p. 53-67), however different their approaches, have pointed out features shared by the Divine Comedy and Jewish culture (see e.g. also Cassuto 1905-1906 and 1921; Fishlov 1991, p. 19-42; Chiesa 2001). To be sure, for the people of that era these different world views were not as distant and separated from their own as they are for our contemporaries. Instead, these world views were felt to be part of a universal patrimony, freely accessible without any philological or scientific

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[17] Dante, *Inferno*, IV, v. 89: *L'altro è Orazio satiro che vene*; *vidi...*; vv. 140-141: *Tulio, e Lino e Seneca morale!*; see Battistoni 1994; Battistoni 1999, p. 41-80; Battistoni 2004.

approach. This openness prompted authors to use quotations from others with maximum flexibility. For example, *The Matron of Ephesus* by Zabara is only slightly different from the version by Petronius. Furthermore, the famous aphorism 'I know I do not know' is attributed to Aristotle rather than to Socrates. Medieval writers did not make a point about this, being aware of the importance attached to sitting 'at the table with the learned in order to gather their crumbs' (*alla beata mensa […] a piedi di coloro che seggiono […] di quello che da loro cade*; Dante, *Convivio* I, 1, 1) rather than looking for the specific characteristics of each diner. They arrived at this through different ways by reading original books or compendiums and translations from other languages. This way, the knowledge of Shelomoh was associated with that of Aristotle in the Intelligence of things, which is the reflection of God's intelligence. From this perspective, we can imagine ʿImmanuʾel's wide literary interest which made him an extraordinary interpreter of his time.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can assume that ʿImmanuʾel's poetic production, very original within Hebrew literature, was also influenced by the cultural environments in which he lived. His presence in the Italian courts, full of Italian and foreign intellectuals educated in the classics, certainly gave ʿImmanuʾel the awareness of the most known and debated classical authors and works. However, it is difficult to precisely establish how much these works influenced his thematic and stylistic choices. References to some classical authors such as Aristotle, Plato, Hippocrates, and Galen, just to mention a few, indicate ʿImmanuʾel's direct interest in the cultural debate of the time. A systematic and careful study of ʿImmanuʾel's works could more precisely define the relationship between himself and the classical culture of his time, further highlighting his approach to this ancient heritage.

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Abstract

The interferences between cultural traditions affecting the Hebrew literature produced by Italian Jews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were very complex and multilayered. This was mainly the effect of the close relationships between Jewish intellectuals of different origins and Italian non-Jewish scholars. Jews not only wanted to draw on the masterpieces produced within their varied regional environments; they were also eager to show their openness to the cultural contexts of the majority cultures in the countries where they lived. The case of 'Immanu'el ben Shelomoh of Rome, one of the prominent Italian Jewish scholars who flourished in fourteenth-century Italy, is especially worthy of investigation. In addition to his Hebrew philosophical and biblical commentaries, we still possess some of his Italian poems. His *maḥbarot* are written in biblical Hebrew, interwoven by medieval expressions. The fact that the poet drew inspiration from the classical and medieval non-Jewish tradition is most clear in the contents of 'Immanu'el's poetic work: some of his *maḥbarot* show motifs that can be associated with classical literature.

PART V
TRILINGUAL LEARNING AND BEYOND
GREEK, HEBREW, AND ARABIC
IN THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND LAW

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MELANCHTHON AS ADVOCATE OF TRILINGUAL HUMANISM

Introduction

The audience was surely unaware, when the new member of the faculty addressed them, that they were hearing a message anchored firmly in the patristic tradition. Yet both Melanchthon's inaugural address at Wittenberg in 1518 and his lecture *De artibus liberalibus* delivered in Tübingen the year before echo Greek fathers that might have been just names to the faculty and not even that to most of the students. The Greek tradition was still largely unexplored north of the Alps in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, the language known by few: the Englishman Richard Croke (*c.* 1489-1558) was teaching it in Leipzig.[1] When Melanchthon arrived at Wittenberg to teach Greek, he had studied it at Tübingen with Georg Simler and earlier under the tutelage of Reuchlin.[2] Melanchthon's first Greek grammar (1518) appeared when he was still in Tübingen. In the preface, Melanchthon states that to know Latin without Greek keeps one from appreciating the splendor with which the Romans adorned

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[1] Richard Croke 1520, sig. a2v, states that the German youth were not displeased (*non displicuisse*) to learn the language.

[2] Simler too composed an early Greek grammar: *Quae hoc libro continentur: Georgii Simler [...] Observationes de arte grammatica. De literis graecis ac diphtongis et quemadmodum ad nos veniant. Abbreviatione quibus frequentissime graeci utuntur. Erotemata Guarini ex Chrysolorae libello majusculo cum interpretatione latina. Isagogicum sive introductorium in literas graecas* (Tübingen: Thomas Anshelm, [1512]). Melanchthon was a corrector in Anshelm's printing shop during his time in Tübingen. The most detailed background narrative of Melanchthon's early years remains Maurer 1996, p. 45-83.

themselves.[3] Latin was incomplete without Greek; and upon his move to Wittenberg that year it would be equally clear that Greek was incomplete without Hebrew. In his preface to Johann Böschenstein's Hebrew grammar Melanchthon states that, in the opinion of all learned persons, no one can advance in proper studies without Greek and Hebrew as well as Latin.[4]

While much of the attention to Melanchthon's early years has been focused on his role in the initial articulation of evangelical doctrine, it is evident to readers of his work on the state of education that Melanchthon's response to the call to return to the sources was to argue that Christian teaching and practice needed to be grounded in the Greek and Hebrew sources and that reform was impossible without knowledge of those languages. Melanchthon is consistent in his conviction of the value of trilingual humanism, one that he shared with his contemporaries; but over time we find him asserting with increasing urgency the importance of language study as a tool in theological controversy. Melanchthon's exhortations to the study of these languages are revealing examples of what Erika Rummel (2000) and Irena Backus (2003) have called the confessionalizing of humanism. In Melanchthon's case advocating for the aesthetic appreciation of ancient languages gives way, though never completely, to arguing for their critical role in resolving theological disputes.

A century ago Cornelis Schaink (1919) correctly saw Melanchthon as one of the principal agents in the advancement of Greek studies in Northern Europe, limiting the scope of his inquiry to those works in grammar and in promoting the study of classical authors that, then and now, have been associated with Renaissance humanism as distinct from the rise of the Reformation. During much of the last century these two spheres of Melanchthon's work were assumed to be distinct. A decade ago Asaph

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[3] Melanchthon 1518, quoted from *Corpus Reformatorum*, ed. K. G. Bretschneider & H. E. Bindseil, Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1834-1860 [hereafter CR], vol. 1, col. 25: *Latina graecis, graeca latinis temperas, quod et sciri latina sine graecis nequeant prorsus, et graeca splendoris capiant plurimum, si Romanis opibus adornes.*

[4] CR 1, 54-55: *Consensu eruditorum omnium, studiose Lector, probatur, neminem quidquam insigne conari in rectis studiis posse, nisi qui simul latinis graeca et hebraea coniunxerit.*

Ben-Tov (2009, p. 2) expanded the scope of Greek study by the Reformers to argue that the continuity from classical to Christian antiquity bound philological to theological pursuits and that 'significant aspects of later humanist interest in antiquity [...] were distinctly confessional in character and motivation'. An interpretation that yields a coherent rather than a divided Melanchthon allows us to see relations between the two intellectual projects more clearly than the assumption that humanism and Reformation are distinct and to some extent irreconcilable.

1. *The State of Education: The Early Melanchthon*

In two early orations Melanchthon identifies virtue as the principal value to be drawn from classical study, which therefore is useful rather than ornamental. Melanchthon's oration on the liberal arts, delivered while he was still at Tübingen, contains an encomium of philosophy (understood as practical rather than metaphysical) in terms that laud Plato and Pythagoras and echo Plutarch and Basil, both of whom value classical authors for their moral utility. In the inaugural oration of 1518, replete with Greek quotations that many in the audience would not have understood, Melanchthon states that all the arts culminate in the sacred and that all studies have the aroma of the unguents of the Lord.[5] Regarding theology itself, Melanchthon says that *itaque cum Theologia partim Hebraica, partim Graeca sit, nam Latini rivos illorum bibimus, linguae externae discendae sunt, ne veluti,* κωφὰ πρόσωπα *cum Theologis agamus.*[6] Asaph Ben-Tov (2009, p. 140) points out that in this oration Melanchthon ties the progress and regress of civilization to the knowledge of Greek. Melanchthon is more detailed in this view when he dedicates the Nuremberg Gymnasium with an oration that credits the arrival of Greek-speaking exiles to Italy with the revival of learning,

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[5] 'De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis', in *Melanchthons Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Robert Stupperich, Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1961-1980 (hereafter MWA), vol. 3, p. 40.

[6] CR 11, 24; MWA 3, 40/11-14: 'since theology is part Hebrew, part Greek, and we Latins drink from those streams, the other languages must be learned, lest they be mute actors when we deal with theologians'.

while at the same time calling the theological colleges of his day 'the most dangerous enemies' (*infestiores hostes*) of the good arts (MWA 3, 66). With the arrival of Greek scholars to the Latin West came the opportunity to correct Latin translations of Greek texts and purify religion after the damage of monastic neglect: *denique expurgata religio, quae iacebat ante monachorum somniis obruta et oppressa* (MWA 68/5-6).

Melanchthon's teaching and the theological works that flowed from his efforts to systematize and articulate the new doctrine are evidence of his conviction about the importance of philology. In the 1521 *Loci communes*, for example, he works back from *gratia* to χάρις to the Hebrew חן of Ex. 33:12, which he associates with the Latin *favor* (MWA 2/1, 104/11-13): *Atque utinam verbo favoris uti maluissent interpretes, quam vocabulo gratiae. Defuisset enim hoc loco ineptiendi occasio sophistis.*[7]

Indications of the utility of language study for piety are found as early as the 1524 *Elementa puerilia*, in the preface of which Melanchthon (1524, sig. A1v) cites Mt. 19:14 in support of Greek, asserting that access to Christ is aided by being able to hear (or read) his words in his own voice. The work is itself a selection of pious readings, mostly in Latin but with some Greek verse. In his Greek manual from the following year there are excerpts from the New Testament and classical authors as well as a poem in Greek, presumably of Melanchthon's own composition, titled 'points of the most holy faith' (*Capita sacrosanctae fidei*), extending over three columns in CR (20, 185-188). If children are to be drawn to profane literature, he explains, they should be protected against whatever is impious, profane, and obscene.[8]

Two orations at the end of this decade, one delivered by Veit Windsheim and the other by Caspar Kreutzer (Cruciger), represent the Melanchthonian conception of the value of the liberal arts. In 'On the studies of youth' (*c.* 1529) Melanchthon condemns the arrogance of those indifferent to rigorous studies

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[7] MWA 2/1, 104/15-18: 'If only the translators had preferred the word "favor" over the word "grace", there would have been no place for inept sophists'.

[8] CR 20, 188: *Si quis autem est, qui pueros a profanorum scriptorum lectione arcendos plane censet, is vehementer errat, siquidem in iis, quae pueris proposuerimus, nihil impium, scelestum, obscoenum traditum scriptumve extiterit.*

and warns that the advanced disciplines are threatened if there is a shortage of students adept in the fundamental subjects.[9] In 1531 Melanchthon sounds a similar note, stating that theologians, lawyers, and doctors without a solid education will not only allow the other arts to perish, but they will not be able to preserve their own professions either.[10]

2. *The 1530s and the Needs of the Church*

Facile iudicari potest, linguarum noticiam non esse leve aut vulgare Dei donum.[11] With these words in his 1535 *Institutio puerilis literarum Graecarum*, Melanchthon joins language study to theological inquiry in such a way that linguistic facility is understood to be a necessary condition for studying Christian doctrine. Without such knowledge one would be confined to Latin translations that fail to provide a firm support for any position in a theological dispute. Both the tensions within Protestantism and the antagonism between Evangelical and Catholic leaders set a premium on careful understanding of the sources of doctrine. And in Melanchthon's view, scripture could not be understood theologically until it was first understood grammatically.[12]

In his 1533 oration on the study of languages, Melanchthon states that there is hardly any need for a long discussion about the value of language for theology, since there is general agreement that the sources of theology are contained in Hebrew and Greek texts, a point that had been a bold one when he first made it in the

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[9] 'Declamatio de studiis adolescentium', CR 11, 189: *Neque obscurum est, quam harum artium cognitio necessaria sit ad quodcunque omnino genus doctrinae adspirantibus; et quam non infoeliciter modo, sed et turpiter superiores disciplinas tractent, qui haec fundamenta neglexerunt.*

[10] 'Declamatio de ordine discendi', CR 11, 213: *Nam isti Theologi, Iurisconsulti ac Medici, subito nascentes, nulla praediti liberali doctrina, non solum alias artes interire sinent, sed nec suas professiones tueri poterunt.* This oration is translated as 'On the order of learning' in Melanchthon 1999, p. 3-8, here p. 6.

[11] 'De studio linguarum', CR 11, 238: 'It is easy to state that knowledge of languages is no trivial or common gift from God'.

[12] CR 20, 780: *Non potest Scriptura intelligi theologice, nisi ante intellecta sit grammatice.*

inaugural address fifteen years before.[13] Knowledge of languages, Melanchthon states, is necessary for understanding the obscure passages that come up in many serious controversies; and by 1533 most of the disputes among Protestants hung on the meaning of specific biblical terms. It is only *indocti homines* (a broad category for Melanchthon) who would deter anyone from learning these languages or learning any of the good arts; and they do so only so that they may appear knowledgeable (CR 11, 233).

Melanchthon argues for the utility of the three languages for the church for resolving disputes and expounding scripture, asserting that ignorance of the pertinent languages has led the church to many heresies (CR 11, 232-233). Study of language, he adds, is necessary for many arts; but the study of scripture should be part of the practice of every learned discipline (CR 11, 234). Likewise, Melanchthon asserts, philosophy cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of Greek (CR 11, 235). Moreover, *Mihi quidem ea Philosophiae pars, quae est suavissima, praecipue ex cognitione linguarum pendere videtur*.[14] The study of these languages is so closely bound to piety for Melanchthon that he compares their neglect to sacrilege: *Si quem ab his studiis hoc deterret, quod non videntur labori respondere praemia, is non satis religiose de Deo sentit*.[15]

The argument from utility is present so prominently throughout Melanchthon's work that it is impossible to claim that he was an advocate of the humanities for their own sake. The humanist project sought the improvement of language and morals through the study of the classics: especially in the North, the humanities had instrumental rather than ornamental value. As Melanchthon states in his 1537 oration on philosophy, the arts are necessary for the church, which has suffered under the burden of 'the theology of unlearned persons' (*indoctorum Theologiam*; 'Declamatio de philosophia', CR 11, 282). Since ill-informed the-

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[13] CR 11, 232: *Ac primum non opinor longa mihi disputatione opus esse de Theologia; constat enim fontes Theologiae ebraicis et graecis literis contineri*.

[14] CR 11, 231: 'that part of philosophy that is most pleasant to me seems especially to depend on a knowledge of the languages'.

[15] CR 11, 239: 'If someone is deterred from this study by the fact that the reward does not correspond to the effort, he does not feel sufficiently religious about God'.

ology presents so much that is bad, as Melanchthon states, it is easy to claim that the Church needs many substantial disciplines:

> *Nam ad iudicandum, et ad recte et dilucide explicandas res intricatas et obscuras, non satis est nosse haec vulgaria praecepta Grammatices et Dialectices, sed opus est multiplici doctrina; multa enim assumenda sunt ex Physicis, multa ex Philosophia morali conferenda sunt ad doctrinam Christianam.*[16]

In 1539 Melanchthon contributed a prefatory epistle addressed to Alard of Amsterdam (1494-1544), editor of a collection of works by Rudolf Agricola (1444-1485), whose 1479 *De inventione dialectica* Melanchthon knew at Heidelberg. In this letter Melanchthon refers to Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489), whom he calls Basil of Groningen, a Paris theologian moderately (*mediocriter*) familiar with Greek and Hebrew according to Reuchlin's judgment (CR 3, 675). Melanchthon particularly praises that earlier generation's desire for new methods in theological inquiry, especially the effort to draw the principal loci into one corpus and method, and the desire to identify those points in which newer formulations conform to doctrine of the ancient church.[17] Theological efforts toward union between Catholics and Evangelicals in the later 1530s sought a common ground in the primitive church: hence invoking Agricola and Wessel Gansfort (and, by association, Erasmus) ties the ecumenical dialogues of 1539 to the ideals of the generation that through linguistic study broke through to the textual archive of the early church.

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[16] CR 11, 280: 'For judging and correctly and clearly explaining intricate and recondite matters, it is not enough to know the common precepts of grammar and dialectic; instead there is a need for multifaceted teaching, for much can be drawn from physics, and much of moral philosophy is applicable to Christian doctrine'.

[17] CR 3, 675: *Accensus igitur Rodolphus Basilii doctrina, cumque etiam in Italia Theologos audisset, et ipse scriptores Ecclesiasticos Graecos et Latinos excuteret, etsi probabat voluntatem in recentioribus, qui summas rerum vidissent in unum corpus ac methodum contrahendas esse: hanc enim docendi rationem necessariam esse in omni genere fatebatur, tamen iudicium, modum, et puritatem non obscure desiderabat, ostendebatque qui mores, quae opiniones recentium temporum conveniant cum veteri Ecclesia, quae non conveniant.*

3. *The Late Melanchthon*

In a 1546 oration on the study of Hebrew Melanchthon argues against those who claim that, since the Prophets have been translated into Latin and then German, there is no longer a need for Hebrew. Wittenberg had in 1543 lost its long-time Hebraist Matthaeus Aurogallus (1490-1543), who was succeeded the next year by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575), whose work on the word for faith (to which Melanchthon wrote a prefatory letter) would be the occasion for disputes among Lutherans in the following decade.[18] While Melanchthon in this oration hopes that the people will read scripture in Luther's translation, he also insists that the *fontes* be known in the schools (CR 11, 710): *Necesse est igitur eruditiores, et quos Ecclesia vult custodes esse ac interpretes sacrorum codicum, nosse linguam Ebraeam, ut certum sit interpretationes congruere cum fontibus*.[19] Melanchthon offers the word *iustitia* as illustration: an ordinary reader might associate divine justice with human justice, for example that of Alexander. 'But the Hebrew phrase means something far different', he says, 'namely, the approval by which God receives us or pronounces us righteous'.[20] The church, he states, is a 'grammatical interpreter' of the revealed word, and as such it is necessary that there be knowledge of the language of the prophets, especially for the clergy who are keepers of heavenly doctrine and those responsible for teaching and explaining segments within the canonical books.[21]

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[18] Miletto & Veltri 2012, p. 12-13. Flacius's work is *De vocabulo fidei et aliis quibusdam vocabulis, explicatio uera & utilis, sumta ex fontibus Ebraici*s, Wittenberg: Veit Kreutzer, 1549.

[19] CR 11, 710: 'It is necessary that the more learned, and those whom the Church wants as custodians and interpreters of the sacred books, know the Hebrew language, so that it may be certain that interpretations agree with the sources'.

[20] CR 11, 711: *Hoc dictum aures Latinae ita accipiunt, ut si diceretur: Iusticia Alexandri Macedonis cognita est in puniendo proditore Darii. Sic igitur intellexerunt multi, iusticiam Dei patefactam esse, qua Deus est iustus iudex et vindex: cum longe aliud Ebraica phrasis significet, videlicet, iusticiam Dei patefactam esse, id est, approbationem, qua Deus nos recipit, seu iustos pronunciat.*

[21] CR 11, 712: *Vere igitur Ecclesia est grammatica interpres divini sermonis, quod cum ita sit, perspicuum est necessariam esse linguae propheticae cognitionem, iis praesertim, qui, ut dixi, custodes sunt doctrinae coelestis, et quos alii indoctiores de locis obscuris consulunt.*

Melanchthon emphasizes the value of knowing the languages during a time of dispute. In order for God to be rightly worshiped (*celebretur*), he sent his son and instituted the ministry of the gospel; 'and to preserve this, there is a need for many kinds of learning, but especially a knowledge of languages'.[22] In this oration Melanchthon refers to Hebrew as the 'prophetic' language and praises the narratives and eloquence of the Prophets (CR 11, 713). The Prophets are *homines sapientissimi* whose eloquence should always be lauded (CR 11, 714). And even though the *fontes* of the early church are in Latin and Greek, the original vocabulary of the prophets and apostles is Hebrew (CR 11, 709).

Three years later Melanchthon states even more forcefully that the church needs Hebrew in order to stay true to its mission to preserve the prophetic and apostolic faith (CR 11, 869). It is a special mission for the Germans to preserve this learning: *Ut enim fontes coelestis doctrinae melius noti sint, et ad posteros sinceri propagentur, semper aliquos esse oportet, velut librorum custodes, qui Germanam lectionem et sententiam collatis fontibus tueantur.*[23] Melanchthon points out that the Septuagint and Vulgate have many errors which pass unnoticed by those without a knowledge of Hebrew (CR 11, 871). A phrase is less well understood without knowledge of the original language, he insists (CR 11, 874). Describing some of the confusion that arises from inexact use of the sources, Melanchthon states that:

> *Vult Deus suam sententiam in lege et promissione reconciliationis certam et explicatam esse, non ludit ambigue dictis, non offundit praestigias, non extruit labyrinthos, sed plane concionatur, ut nostrae mentes eum invocare, et certam de eius benevolentia sententiam concipere possint.*[24]

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[22] CR 11, 709: *Propter hos fines Deus arcanum decretum de filio patefecit generi humano, misit filium, et ministerium Evangelii instituit, ad quod retinendum opus est multiplici eruditione, sed tamen praecipue linguarum noticia. Ideo semper Deus servat et subinde excitat doctores et studia linguarum.*

[23] CR 11, 870: 'So that the sources of heavenly learning might be better known and faithfully handed down to later generations, it is necessary that there always be some, like the custodians of books, who oversee the German wording and meaning by comparing with the sources'.

[24] CR 11, 872: 'God wants his message in the Law and the promise of reconciliation to be certain and [clearly] explained; he does not play with ambiguous

In Melanchthon's view, God wants those studies that are necessary for the church (CR 11, 875).

That same year (1549) Melanchthon advocates for the study of Greek in similar terms. He continues to affirm its importance as the *magistra et fons* of all the arts (CR 11, 862) and the most pleasant-sounding language (CR 11, 860), but controversies in the years after Luther's death gave new urgency to scriptural study. At a time when, as he states, nothing seems firm or stable in human affairs, it is necessary to apply oneself to 'the sane and pure doctrine of true piety', and embrace it tenaciously, *pertinacius* (CR 11, 858). The Incarnation is for Melanchthon a call to attend to Jesus' words, a demand reinforced by the command to 'hear him' (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε) at Lk 9. 35. Thus Greek, he states, has the first place among languages, since God chose it as the way to spread the divine word (858).

> *Nam praeterquam quod vix fieri potest, ut sententia ubique eadem foelicitate ac perspicuitate in alienam linguam transfundatur: multa etiam alia incommoda interpretationes sequuntur, fitque saepe ut vel inter reddendum nativus sensus obscuretur, vel in aliam quasi speciem transformetur, atque ita pervertatur, ut vix eundem agnoscere possis.*[25]

Since Greek is the language in which doctrine is handed down, Melanchthon states, piety demands that we know it: *Nam si filii pii atque erga patrem* εὔστοργοι *erimus, nempe linguam pientissimi parentis discere atque etiam imitari, et exprimere studebimus.*[26] Those who fail to give Greek its due importance in theological matters *sunt enim oppressi caecitate, satanico errore, ignoratione et*

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statements, or pour out deceptions, or construct labyrinths, but he is preached clearly so that our minds can call upon him and grasp the certain meaning of his benevolence'.

[25] CR 11, 859: 'It is hardly possible for a sentence to be translated into another language with the same grace and clarity; and many other unsuitable interpretations also follow, and it often happens that the original sense is obscured in the translation or almost turned into something else, and so corrupted that you can hardly recognize [the original sense]'.

[26] CR 11, 861: 'For if we are to be pious children and devoted to the Father, we will certainly strive to learn the language of our most pious parent and even imitate and express ourselves [in it]'.

odio Dei, atque aeterna morte, quibus poenis nulla ne apud inferos quidem atrocior esse potest.[27]

If reformer and humanist are one and the same in Melanchthon, so are the controversialist and the biblical interpreter. In both cases classical and biblical learning are applied in the service of the needs of the church. Melanchthon's 1550 exegesis of Proverbs (*Explicatio proverbiorum Salomonis*, Frankfurt: Peter Brubach, 1550) provides a case in point. In his prefatory letter to Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg (1525-1576), who had introduced Protestantism to Mecklenburg-Güstrow, Melanchthon laments the general ignorance of Hebrew, the lack of a Latin translation less flawed (*minus squalida*) than that of the Vulgate, and a commentary that could shed light on the most important points (CR 7, 705). Offering the example of Julian as a ruler not to emulate, Melanchthon encourages the duke to rule with discipline and to know God's judgment against sin. Knowledge of the divine will is available from classical as well as biblical sources, since it is a remnant of the knowledge of divine law fixed in the minds of all (CR 7, 706). Yet Melanchthon reminds his reader that it is not to be confused with the gospel:

> *Ex hoc fonte Solon, Zaleucus et alii boni gubernatores honestas leges, et scriptores sapientes honesta praerepta hauserunt; ut Homerus, Hesiodus, Pindarus, Phocylides, Theognis, Sophocles, Euripides et alii, quos volo certe legi. Sed sciendum est, aliud esse vocem Evangelii de remissione peccatorum et omnibus beneficiis Mediatoris. Haec sapientia non angelis, non hominibus nota fuit sine divina patefactione.*[28]

But Proverbs, Melanchthon adds, is not to be grouped with these classical authors purely for the human wisdom it contains. As a

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[27] CR 11, 862: 'They are oppressed by blindness, satanic error, ignorance and hatred of God, and eternal death, and no punishment in hell can be more horrible than theirs'.

[28] CR 7, 706: 'From this source [the remnant in human minds] Solon, Zaleucus and other good rulers drew honorable teachings, together with wise authors like Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Phocylides, Theognis, Sophocles, Euripides, and others, who I hope will be read. But keep in mind that the word of the gospel about remission of sin and all the benefits of the Mediator are different. That wisdom was not made known by angels or humans without divine revelation'.

part of scriptural revelation, it is an exposition of the first Table of revealed Law (*explicatio primae tabulae Moysi*) and thus anticipates the Messiah (CR 7, 706). Melanchthon wishes the new duke to govern with Solomonic prudence and with the Augsburg Confession in his hands (CR 7, 710).

The late Melanchthon was embroiled in controversies, and his view that disputes can be settled by agreement on the meaning of scriptural texts is evident in texts like his 1553 denunciation of Andreas Osiander, where he states that God wants an assembly of teachers and students who devote themselves industriously to their studies.[29] God also wants the prophetic and apostolic books to be preserved, as well as the studies of literature, language, and arts that are useful to the church and which are, Melanchthon states, the *lumen vitae humanae*.[30] The subordination of the liberal arts to theology is found in such statements as his 1556 claim that:

> *Certissimum est autem doctrinam Ecclesiae incorruptam et synceram, sine multiplici eruditione et linguarum cognitione retineri et propagari non posse. Quare si verbum divinitus traditum magnifacimus, si Ecclesiae nos cives ac membra agnoscimus, eique nos totos debere fatemur, ut aequissimum est, summa cura in id incumbamus, ut literis politioribus et artibus necessariis ita nos instruamus, ut possessionem coelestis doctrinae retinere ipsi, et tradere liberis ac posteris nostris possimus.*[31]

In a 1560 oration on the study of Hebrew, Melanchthon acknowledges the pleasure (*dulcedo*) of learning the language while

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[29] In the prefatory letter to the 1550 Proverbs commentary mentioned above, Melanchthon praised Osiander as someone who *cognitione linguae Hebraeae praeclare instructus est* (CR 7, 705).

[30] CR 12, 5: *Semper autem Deus voluit Ecclesiis adiunctos esse docentium et discentium coetus, qui maiore assiduitate colerent doctrinae studia, quam reliqua multitudo aliis occupata negociis, vult enim conservari libros propheticos et apostolicos, literas, linguas, artes quae Ecclesiae utiles sunt, et sunt lumen vitae humanae.*

[31] CR 12, 192-193: 'It is most certain that the uncorrupted and faithful teaching of the church cannot be preserved without many forms of learning and knowledge of languages. If we glorify the transmitted word of God, if we see ourselves as citizens and members of the Church, to which we say we dedicate ourselves completely (as is most right to do), then it is incumbent on us to instruct ourselves in polite letters and the necessary arts, so that we ourselves may possess heavenly teaching and hand it on to our children and later generations'.

asserting that there is no certainty except from knowing the original.[32] Once again holding Osiander to account for misunderstanding the biblical view of justification, Melanchthon maintains that the clearest statement of imputation of grace is in the Hebrew sources (CR 12, 389). Enough knowledge of Hebrew has been preserved that scripture can be studied without recourse to the Greek and Latin versions. But anyone who might suggest, out of laziness, that the Hebrew sources may be ignored is completely worthy of contempt (*profectus dingus est odio*).[33]

Conclusion

In his 1523 *Encomium eloquentiae*, Melanchthon offers an epideictic oration that displays the virtues it extolls. Hesiod and Homer stand alongside Cicero and Horace as models of elegance and clarity, not to be imitated for ornament but to illustrate the value of correct speech: *Omnis hominum societas, ratio vitae instituendae publice ac privatim, conquirendorumque omnium quibus vitam tuemur, denique commercia omnia sermone continentur.*[34] Both in philosophy and in sacred literature, he states, there are solecisms in translations (CR 11, 53). Without eloquence and certain norms of speech, Melanchthon continues, we can neither express what we wish to say nor understand the writings that have been handed down over time (CR 11, 54). With this oration, as with the two from 1517-1518 in which he stated his humanist position, Melanchthon follows examples like Plutarch's Περὶ

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[32] 'Declamatio de lingua hebraica discenda', CR 12, 390: *Quanquam ego non solum dulcedine studiosos moveri volo, Certitudo expetenda est, cum quidem nulla interpretatio tam accurata fieri possit, quae pondera verborum et emphases ubique reddere possit.*

[33] CR 12, 387: *Sed omissis Iudaeis veniamus ad interpretes, qui in linguam Graecam aut Latinam sacros libros transfuderunt, quorum laudo et voluntatem et opera ipsa. Etsi enim saepe hallucinati sunt: tamen magna ex parte intellectum linguae Ebraeae conservaverunt: quare iudicandum est, eos bene meritos esse. Sed si quis ita laudat, ut fontes velit negligi, et ignaviam confirmet, is profecto dignus est odio.*

[34] CR 11, 52: 'The whole society of humans, the *ratio* of life both public and private and of acquiring all those things that with which we live, and all business are contained in speech'.

παίδων ἀγωγῆς and St Basil's Πρὸς τοὺς νέους, his defense of the usefulness of pagan literature for learning virtue. Both pieces weave classical references into the exhortation in such a way that a reader will be shamed by ignorance into wanting to study the tradition.

Very little of this style is present in the later Melanchthon. Erudite allusions are rare, and the glorification of pagan and Christian antiquity is reduced to passing comments acknowledging their literary excellence. In their place are statements about the need for Greek and Hebrew for the Church. 'There are some who say that the Church does not need Hebrew', he says in 1549. 'I oppose all such arguments that they bring against us'.[35] There is an unmistakably polemical tone in these later orations, evidence that the 'pure doctrine' of revelation is something wrought from disputes about language.

Melanchthon offers an illuminating case study in the confessionalizing of trilingual humanism in the first half century of the Reformation. The primacy of scripture in the early years of the Reformation, itself a development of the growth of Greek and Hebrew learning associated with scholars like Reuchlin and Erasmus, gave the study of these languages a role unprecedented in the Latin West. The expectation that the obscurities of Latin translations would be eliminated by the perspicacity of scripture gave way to disputes about the meanings of certain terms. Melanchthon, professor of Greek, maintained his early optimism that attention to the sources of the tradition would yield pure and authentic doctrine.

The controversies in which the reformers were embroiled are mirrored in Melanchthon's exhortations to the study of Greek and Hebrew. Over time he refers to the languages as the fixed point in an unstable world, the source of divine truth amid human ignorance and opinion. Only through assiduous attention to the exact words with which, in Melanchthon's view, God

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[35] CR 11, 869: *Nihil igitur de earum linguarum dignitate detraho, delector etiam earum venustate. Nam etsi eam non exprimo, tamen ut in picturis artificium, ita in scriptis mediocriter intelligere elegantiam possumus. Sed in Ecclesia Dei carere lingua Ebraea non possumus. Hanc necessitatem argumentis omnibus quae contra nos adferuntur, oppono.*

chose to communicate to humans could clarity be achieved and pure doctrine known. Theology held its place among the sciences but philology became an increasingly valuable companion. The once-ornamental value of language study lay in its benefit to a church defending its teachings against antagonists.

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Abstract

Trilingual humanism came to Wittenberg in the person of Philip Melanchthon, who would reform the arts curriculum there and create programs at Gymnasia such as Nuremberg (1526) and Schulpforta (1543) as well as at universities like Marburg (1527). He also helped reform older institutions like Greifswald in 1539 and Rostock in 1542. For over four decades Melanchthon was an active promoter of trilingual humanism, yet over this time his views of the importance of these languages evolved. The engagement with scripture and the Greek patristic tradition that characterizes early Protestantism is in certain respects the fruit of Melanchthon's efforts to ensure that Greek and Hebrew (and stylistically appealing Latin) were the foundation of the arts course. The present paper offers a diachronic view of Melanchthon's work as an advocate of trilingual humanism, from the 1517 oration *De artibus liberalibus* to *De lingua Hebraea discenda* (1560), and with some attention to prefaces to other works. The evolution of Melanchthon's views of the utility of these languages mirrors not only the expansion of the Reformation but the sequence of controversies surrounding it. Thus for example the 1549 oration *De studiis linguae Graecae* argues as much for the practical benefit of Greek as for the aesthetic value of classical study; it demands to be read alongside the *De studio linguae Ebraeae* of the same year, a composition quite different from *De lingua hebraica* of 1546. To an unusual extent, therefore, we see in Melanchthon a transition in the rhetoric of advocacy for trilingual humanism from the imitative works of the 1510s (*De artibus liberalibus*, for example, is modeled on Plutarch's Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς) to an appeal to the *fontes* amid bitter controversy. The study of the languages may thus be said to have become confessionalized in Melanchthon's work.

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NEC QUIDQUAM FELICITER SIT QUOD ACCURATIONE CUM ALCORANO CERTARE QUEAT

LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN AS TEACHING MATERIAL FOR ARABIC LEARNERS IN SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE*

The Italian cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532) commissioned his translation of the Qurʾān into Latin in 1518. As the churchman was an erudite, engrossed in the study of Hebrew and interested in other oriental languages, modern scholars concur that this particular translation of the Qurʾān was used to acquire knowledge of Arabic (see Starczewska 2018). The now lost original translation commissioned by Egidio was equipped with a range of philological aids that favored understanding of the Arabic text and language learning. It was copied in four parallel columns: the first contained the Arabic source text, the second was made up of the transcription of the text into Latin alphabet so that someone unfamiliar with Arabic alphabet could read it fluently, the third column contained the actual translation into Latin; and the fourth column was filled with quotations from Muslim exegetes elucidating the text. The first modern scholar to describe the didactic characteristics of Egidio's translation of the Qurʾān was Thomas Burman, who also observed that one of the extant manuscripts preserves a significant trait of the original layout that would have enhanced the learning process: the division of

the page so that the Arabic text can be consulted in parallel with the translation.[1] Of the two extant copies of the manuscript, the one whose column-like composition resembles the original is not the focus of this study. Instead, I focus on a later copy that was heavily corrected by a renowned sixteenth-century authority, the erudite Leo Africanus (Burman 2005; 2007). While it is unclear how much use the commissioner Egidio da Viterbo made of those adjustments and corrections or how much Arabic he was able to learn from both the Qurʾānic text and Leo Africanus' intermediacy (see Starczewska 2015), we know that the peculiar layout of the text caught the attention of another student of Arabic a century later. In 1621, Scottish itinerant scholar David Colville (*c.* 1581-1629) produced a copy of the text in the Library of El Escorial. The manuscript is currently kept in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana (Milan), where it is known as MS D 100 inf (see Figures 1 and 2). This study pays close attention to Colville and his use of the translation commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo.

David Colville was a learned member of the Catholic clergy, probably born in eastern Scotland in 1581. Versed in several languages, over the course of his life he studied Greek, Hebrew and some rudiments of Chaldean and Syriac, as well as theology, law, and medicine in various intellectual centers across Europe. In 1617, Colville reached Spain where he worked as a librarian in El Escorial from 1617 until 1627. Among other activities, he worked on the library's collections of Arabic manuscripts (Justel 1978, p. 225; Jones 1987, p. 9) and served as a royal interpreter appointed by Philip III and Philip IV of Spain. Furthermore, he was a professor of Hebrew, Greek and Arabic in the college attached to the monastery (Dunlop 1951, p. 39). It seems that Colville did not begin his study of Arabic until 1621, the year he copied Egidio's Qurʾān, and that he managed to master the language in a mere two years (De Andrés 1973, p. 86). Despite his rudimentary knowledge of Arabic, Colville was a rather conceited individual, confident that his knowledge

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[1] See Burman 2007, esp. chapter 6 'The Manuscripts of Egidio da Viterbo's Bilingual Qurʾān. Philology (and Polemics?) in the Sixteenth Century', p. 149-177.

Fig. 1
Sūrat Hūd (fragment) in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS D 100 inf., fol. 211.
This manuscript can be consulted online at http://213.21.172.25/0b02da82801be076

Fig. 2
Sūrat Yūsuf (fragment) in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS D 100 inf., fol. 217.

of the language surpassed that of at least one of the original translators commissioned by Egidio. In the prologue to this copy and in some of the marginal notes, Colville asserts that he is interested in copying this Qurʾān in order to gain proficiency in Arabic. Contrary to Colville's boastful claims, he was not proficient in this language, which resulted in a rather messy copy, in which multiple alternative versions and annotations bore testimony to his lack of proficiency (see Starczewska 2019). Notwithstanding the shortcomings of Colville's copy, the twelfth *sūra* of the manuscript (*Sūrat Yūsuf*, يوسف), preceded by eight blank pages, stands out due to its elegant writing and the absence of verse numbers. In one of his numerous glosses, Colville explains that he transcribed that *sūra* before the others, having found it printed and translated by Erpenius: 'Azoaram istam transcripsi prius quam caeteras, quia reperi impressam et translatam ab Herpemio'.[2]

Thomas Erpenius (Thomas van Erpe; 1584-1624) was a Dutch professor of Arabic in Leiden and the founder of an Arabic press vital to the development of European Semitic scholarship (García-Arenal & Rodríguez Mediano 2013, p. 245). Like David Colville, he too travelled around Europe on the lookout for opportunities to gain further knowledge of Arabic, without ever visiting any Arabic-speaking country. Erpenius did, at one point, set out to travel to Istanbul, but never made it past Venice (see Hamilton 2011, p. 300-301; Wiegers 2016). It was during his later stay in France (1609) that Erpenius unexpectedly encountered an individual equipped to answer all his queries on Arabic. The new acquaintance's name was Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (1570-after 1640). Born in the Spanish village of Hornachos under the Christian name of Diego Bejarano, he had fled Spain around 1599. Being a scholar, al-Ḥajarī was learned in Classical Arabic and was serving as a secretary and the Spanish translator to the Moroccan sultan Mawlāy Zaydān (r. 1608-1627) when he met Erpenius (Wiegers 2016, p. 231). The meetings between Erpenius and al-Ḥajarī were so fruitful that al-Ḥajarī did not

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[2] Starczewska 2018, p. 261. For the original note see Fig. 2, the annotation in the top left corner.

only go to visit the Dutchman in Leiden in 1613; he also maintained contact with Erpenius' successor as professor of Arabic at the University of Leiden, Jacobus Golius (1596-1667). The very same year that al-Ḥajarī visited Erpenius, the latter saw his Arabic grammar published and was appointed to the chair of Oriental languages at the University of Leiden.

True to Colville's note, Erpenius did author a textbook titled *Historia Iosephi Patriarchae ex Alcorano arabicè* ('Story of Patriarch Joseph, from the Qurʾān in Arabic', Leiden, 1617).[3] Alastair Hamilton described this grammar book in detail and observed that it was intended for students already familiar with Erpenius' previous *Grammatica Arabica* (1613). The book was one of the first printed in the special press, equipped with Arabic fonts, that Erpenius established in Leiden (Hamilton 2017, p. 215). The *Historia Iosephi Patriarchae* is organized around the translation of one *sūra*: *Yūsuf*. It begins with a three-folio preface in which Erpenius (1617, fol. A2) describes the textbook as complementary to his previous work and announces his intention to publish further works on Arabic grammar. The author also praised the usefulness of the Qurʾān in the pursuit of the Arabic language:

> *Cum enim lingua Arabica, non secus atque Hebraea, sine ope textus accurate uocalibus omnibus notati addisci haudquaquam feliciter possit, nec quidquam sit quod accuratione cum Alcorano certare queat; quin ex hoc fere solo tota rei Grammaticae ratio elici ab ipsis Arabibus soleat: nihil mihi potius fuit, quam ut caput aliquod eius facile intellectu, et multa ad linguae solidam intelligentiam pertinentia complectens uobis exhiberem.*[4]

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[3] Erpenius' translation of *sūra* twelve is also referenced in the margins of Zechendorff's Qurʾān (Tottoli 2015, p. 18-19).

[4] Erpenius 1617, A2-A3. 'Because truly the Arabic language, not unlike Hebrew, cannot be in any way mastered satisfactorily without the help of a text with all the vowels correctly annotated, and there is nothing that can be regarded more correct than the Qurʾān; indeed, the Arabs themselves derive almost all their understanding of grammar from that work alone; nothing was more helpful for me than showing you a chapter of the Qurʾān, easily understandable and including much material relevant for the thorough understanding of the language'.

Erpenius continued, promising a special translation of the Qurʾān into Latin which will clear any doubts the students might have:

> *Et si quid fortassis amplius desideretis, scitote, operam me daturum esse, ut brevi totum Alcoranum Arabicum, accuratissime vocalibus omnibus et ornamentis insignitum, (etiam literis illis omnibus et notis rubris, variis lectionibus, et capitum divisionibus, quae in hoc specimine, compendii causa, et minoris molestiae atque sumptus ergo, omisimus) fidelissime in Latinum versum, sincere explicatum, et solide confutatum habeatis. Interim, studiosissimi juvenes, hoc opusculo fruimini, et in utilissimo hoc studio, quod viam ad infinitorum insignium, in omnibus facultatibus, librorum intelligentiam aperiet, gnaviter pergite.*[5]

The preface is followed by a description of the Arabic alphabet, with the twenty-eight consonants presented in their four positions: at the beginning of the word, in the middle, isolated, and in the final position. Erpenius discusses the order of the consonants in the alphabet, their phonetic value, joining letters, different scripts, and finally moves on to the subject of vowels. To elaborate on long vowels, the Dutch scholar uses English, French, and Dutch as points of comparison, as well as Greek printed in the Greek script.[6] Erpenius makes brief mention of the phenomenon of nunation (*tanwīn*) and what he refers to as 'other orthographical notes' (*reliquae notae orthographicae*): *hamza*, *waṣla*, *maddah*, *sukūn*, and *shaddah* (Erpenius 1617, fol. C3). The section on the alphabet closes with a presentation of decorative figures used for separating the verses in the Qurʾān.

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[5] Erpenius 1617, fol. A3. 'And should you want anything further, know that I will do my best for you to soon have the entire Arabic Qur'an marked with all the correct vowels and decorations (as well as all those letters, and red symbols, different readings and chapter divisions which in this specimen, because of its compactness and minor problems, hence also because of the cost, we omitted), faithfully translated into Latin, honestly explained and thoroughly confuted. In the meantime, industrious youngsters, enjoy this little work and persist diligently in this extremely useful study, which will open you the way to understanding an infinity of distinguished books in all the fields of knowledge'. Unfortunately, Erpenius never got to publish the entire Qurʾān.

[6] Erpenius 1617, fol. C2: *Fatha ã, seu ae nostrum, uel ñ, seu A Anglicum productum, ut* نار *uel* νᾱ̃ρ*; Damma vero ū, seu œ nostrum uel ou Gallicum, ut* نُور νῡρ*; Kesra ī seu ie nostrum, ut* نِير νῑρ*.*

FIG. 3
Sūrat Yūsuf (fragment) in Erpenius 1617, fol. E2.

After the grammatical section, the story of Yūsuf proper is presented, 'faithfully copied from the Qurʾān and translated literally into Latin, also explained with necessary notes by Thomas Erpenius' (*Historia Iosephi patriarcae ex Alcorano fidelissime descripta, et ad uerbum in Latinum uersa, ac necessariis notis explicata a Thoma Erpenio*). In this section, the Arabic text is printed together with an interlinear word-for-word translation into Latin, and another, more accessible, rendition in the margins (see Fig. 3). Such an approach is explained by Erpenius in a short address to the reader:

> *Cum phrasis Arabica tantopere a Latina distet, ut de uerbo ad uerbum aut uerti uix possit, aut si uertatur, adeo sit dura, et insolens, ut a linguae Arabicae imperitis intelligi plerumque nequeat: uisum nobis fuit, interlineari uersioni nostrae, aliam Latiniorem paulo, et phrases Arabicas obscuriores explicantem in margine adiicere: quanquam nec ea apposita, ubique mihi licuit uerba singula Arabica singulis Latinis, et aequipollentibus exprimere, ne plane absurda, et non cohaerens oratio uideretur.*[7]

This was supposedly the translation that the copyist David Colville inserted into the copy of the Qurʾān commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Nevertheless, if one scrutinizes these two renditions, serious doubts arise. For instance, the fragment narrating Yūsuf's stay in the house of Potiphar is translated by Erpenius as follows in Table 1. While the version copied by Colville in Egidio's Qurʾān differs from Erpenius' translation *ad sensum*, it does bear some similarity to the word-by-word version. The similarities are marked in bold text in Table 1.

[7] Erpenius 1617, fol. D1: 'Since Arabic phrasing is so different from Latin that it is hardly possible to translate word by word, or, in the cases it is possible, it gets so clumsy and unusual that those who are unskilled in Arabic are often unable to understand it. It occurred to us to add to our interlinear version another one, a little bit more Latinized and to explain obscure Arabic phrases in the margin. Although this has not been added wherever I was able to express single Arabic words by single and equivalent ones in Latin, so that the language would not seem plainly absurd and incoherent'.

<center>TABLE 1</center>
<center>Comparison of the three translations</center>

1. Erpenius' word-by-word translation of Q 12:21-31 written from right to left on top of the Arabic text	2. Erpenius' loose translation of Q 12:21-31 contained in the margins	3. Colville's rendition of 12:21-31 in Egidio da Viterbo's Qurʾān [8]
*(12:21) Et dixit qui emerat eum ex Aegypto mulieri suae: Honora habitationem eius, poterit fieri ut **prosit** nobis, aut sumamus eum **in puerum**. Et sic stabiliuimus Iosephum in terra, et docuimus eum de explicatione narrationum. Nam Deus **victor** (est) **supra** negotium suum, uerum **plurimi hominum non sciunt**. (12:22) Et postquam attigit robur suum dedimus ei **sapientiam et scientiam**. Atque sic remuneramus **benefacientes**. (12:23) Et petiit eum illa quae ipse in domo eius ab anima eius, atque occlusit ianuas, ac dixit: Age tibi. Dixit: **Protectio Dei**, nam ille **Dominus** meus, bonam fecit mansionem meam. Vtique non prosperantur improbi. (12:24) Atque (illa) uoluit eum et (is) uoluisset eam si non uidisset causam domini sui. Sic auertimus ab eo malum et turpitudinem: nam ille de seruis nostris seruatis. (12:25) Et praecurrerunt ad portam, ac lacerauit tunicam eius a tergo et occurrerunt domino eius ad ianuam. Dixit: Quae retributio ei qui uoluit in familia tua **malum nisi ut incarceretur** aut cruciatus dolorificus. (12:26) Dixit: Illa petiit me ab anima mea. Et testatus est testis de familia eius.*	*(12:21) Dixit autem Aegyptius, qui emit eum, uxori suae: Magnifac cohabitationem eius: fieri enim poterit ut nobis sit utilis, aut nos eum in filium adoptemus. Atque in hunc modum stabiliuimus Iosephum in terra: ac docuimus eum narrationum explicationem. Deus enim triumphat in causa sua, licet plerique id homines ignorent (12:22) Vt autem adoleuit, sapientia eum, et scientia instruximus. Atque hoc modo remuneramus benefacientes. (12:23) Petiit autem concubitum eius illa, in cuius domo erat: occlusisque ianuis dixit: Age, ueni ad me. At ille respondit: Auertat hoc Deus, qui dominus meus est, et mansionem mihi bonam dedit; non enim felices sunt improbi. (12:24) Illa itaque uoluit eum et is etiam ueluisset eam nisi considerasset causam domini sui. Sic auertimus ab eo malum, et turpitudinem, quia ipse seruus noster beatus fuit. (12:25) Certatim autem illis ad ianuam praecurrentibus, illa tunicam eius a tergo lacerauit: atque apud ianuam domino eius occurrerunt, illaque dixit: Que poena sit alia illi, qui familiae tuae uoluit malum, quam ut incarceretur, aut supplicio graui afficiatur. (12:26) Ait Iosephus:*	*(12:21) Et dixit ille qui emit eum ex Aegypto uxori suae: 'Honora hospitium eius, forte nobis proderimus cum eo (**proderit**) ac accipiemus eum **in filium**'. Et sic dedimus potentiam Ioseph in terra et docuimus eum scientiam (significationem) historiarum. Et Deus **uictor super** factum suum uerum **plures hominum nesciunt**. (12:22) Et quousque (quando) applicuit ad aetatem suam, dedimus ei scientiam et scire (**sapientiam et scientiam**), et sic praemiabimur bonos (**benefactores**). (12:23) Et adamauit (desiderauit) eum ea, quae eum tenebat in domo suae, eum ipsum; et clausit portas et dixit: 'Parata sum ego pro te (tibi)'. Dixit: 'Defendo me cum Deo (**Defensio Dei**), quod is est creator (**dominus**) meus et sentatus est sensum meum (benefecit hospiti meo) quia is non amat erratos (iniuriantes non erant beati)'. (12:24) Iam se dabat ei cum eo, is cum ea (decreuerat illa de eo et decreuit de ea), nisi quod uidit mysterium creatoris (domini) sui; et sic retraximus ab eo malum et peccatum, quia is est ex seruis nostris purificatis. (12:25) Et anticipauit (anticipauerunt) ad portam,*

[8] The copyist's way of transmitting the text was to include an alternative version between the lines of the complete translation. These additions are transcribed here in parenthesis.

*Si sit tunica eius lacerata a parte anteriori illa dicit uerum, et **ipse ex mentientibus**. (12:27) Et si sit tunica eius lacerata a tergo, illa mentitur, ac ipse ex uerum dicentibus. (12:28) Et ut uidit tunicam eius laceratam a tergo, dixit: Vtique hoc de dolo uestro, nam dolus uester magnus est. (12:29) **Iosephe recede ab hoc**. Et tu mulier ueniam pete delicti tui: nam tu es **ex peccantibus**. (12:30) Et dixerunt **mulieres in ciuitate**: Vxor illi potentis petit **puerum suum** ab anima eius iam corripuit eam amore. Vtique nos uidemus eam **in errore manifesto**. (12:31) Et postquam illa audiuit dolum earum, misit ad eas et **parauit illis conuiuium**, deditque uniuersitati unius ex illis cultrum ac dixit: **Egredere ad eas**. Atque ut uiderunt eum, **magnificarunt eum et sciderunt manus suas** ac dixerunt: Absit per Deum, non est **hic homo; non est hic nisi angelus honorandus**. (Erpenius 1617, fol. D3-E2)*

Illa petiit concubitum meum. At astans quidam ex familia eius ilico dixit: Si tunica eius ante lacerata sit, illa uerum dicit, atque ille mentitur. (12:27) Si uero a tergo lacerata sit tunica eius, illa mentitur, atque ille uerum praedicat. (12:28) Vtque tunicam eius a tergo laceratam esse uidit. Dolus, inquit, hic uester est. Nam dolus uester est magnus. (12:29) Iosephe recede hinc. Et tu mulier delicti tui ueniam pete, nam peccauisti. (12:30) Dixerunt autem mulieres ciuitatis: Vxor nobilis illius petit concubitum serui sui, cuius amore capta est. Videmus certe eam manifeste deliquisse. (12:31) Illa uero, ut dolum earum audiuit, misit ad eas, atque parauit iis conuiuium, datoque singuilis cultro, iussit Iosephum ad eas exire. Quem, postquam uiderunt eum, magnifecerunt, scideruntque manus suas, dicentes: Absit, per Deum, non est hic homo, non est nisi angelus honorandus. (Erpenius 1617, fol. D3-E2)

*et accepit (fregit) ex tunica eius retro, et obuiauit (obuiauerunt) domine sue [sic] apud portam. Dixit ea quod (non): 'Meretur qui uult cum uxore tua **male**, est ratio **(nisi) ut incarceretur** aut ut habeat poenam crudelem (tormentum dolens)'. (12:26) Dixit ea: 'Adamauit (Deprecata est) me et personam meam (me ipsam), et facio testimonium (testificatus est)'. Hostis ex familia eius: 'Si est quod tunica eius fuit lacerata ex ante, uerax est ea (ueritatem dixit) et is **est ex mendacibus**; (12:27) et si est quod tunica eius lacerata ex retro, mendax est ea et is est ex ueracibus'. (12:28) Igitur quomodo uidit tunicam eius laceratam ex retro, dixit: 'Id est ex traditionibus (scilicet, faemineis) uestris maximis (certe traditio uestra est magna). (12:29) **O Ioseph! Discede ab hoc** et pete ueniam peccati tui quare (quia) tu fuisti ex errantibus **(peccatoribus)'. (12:30)** Et dixerunt **mulieres in urbe**: 'Vxor regis amauit seruum suum (domini deprecata est **puerum suum**) pro se ipsa, et est incensa ea (incendit) amore (scilicet, Iosephus), et nos uidemus eam **in errore manifesto**'. (12:31) Et ex quo audiuit ea, quod murmurabant de ea, misit pro eis et dedit eis sedem (**praeparauit eis mensam**), et dedit unicuique gladium. Et dixit: 'Egredere super (**ad**) eas!' Igitur quando uiderunt eum, **magnificauerunt eum** et **abscinderunt manus earum**, et dixerunt: 'Nolit Deus! Non est hic persona uerum (**homo non est nisi) est angelus honoratus (nobilis)!'** (Starczewska 2018, p. 262-264)*

The hypothesis I would like to venture regarding the unimpressive similarities between Erpenius' and Colville's renditions of the *Sūrat Yūsuf* into Latin is that Colville shared Erpenius' view that, above all else, the Qurʾān constitutes excellent learning material and should be studied for the purpose of learning Arabic. I am inclined to believe that Colville copied parts of the *sūra* he found in Erpenius' textbook but merged them with the versions encountered in Egidio's Qurʾān (the original version by Juan Gabriel and the corrections done by Leo Africanus).[9] Consulting Erpenius' rendition of *Sūrat Yūsuf* may have given Colville the idea of how to proceed with the Latin translation of the Qurʾān that he had at his disposal; namely, to gloss it, to give alternative versions of the translation between the lines, to annotate some Arabic words. Perhaps Colville not only learned the Arabic alphabet, a word-for-word translation of one *sūra*, and its loose rendition from the *Historia Iosephi Patriarchae*, but also became familiar with Robert of Ketton's version of the chapter in question, and comments on Qurʾānic vocabulary and phraseology.

Robert of Ketton was the first translator credited with rendering the Qurʾān into Latin (1142-1143). His translation was carried out under the auspices of Peter the Venerable (1092/1094-1156), the abbot of Cluny, on the occasion of his journey to the Iberian Peninsula in 1141-1142. It was commissioned somewhere in the Ebro Valley, not far from Tarazona, to a knowledgeable group of translators that included Herman of Carinthia and Robert of Ketton. Both had previously engaged in the translation of scientific works and went on to dedicate themselves to the translation of religious books. Despite the fact that these translators were aided by other specialists whose names are known (Peter of Toledo, Peter of Poitiers, and a Muslim called Mohamet) it is Robert of Ketton who went down in history as the first translator of the Qurʾān (see Ferrero Hernández & de la Cruz Palma 2011). Not only did Robert's translation circulate remarkably widely in its manuscript form, but it was also the version that served as the basis of a sixteenth-century edition undertaken by the Protestant humanist Theodore Bibliander

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[9] See Starczewska (2022).

(Theodor Buchmann; 1505-1564; see Bibliander 1550, p. 185). Highly controversial in its day, this work was printed in 1543 and 1550, and served as a basis for various subsequent translations of the Qurʾān into modern languages (see, among others, de la Cruz Palma 2002). Erpenius was unexceptional in his use of Theodore Bibliander's edition of Robert of Ketton's translation of *Sūrat Yūsuf* for his 1617 grammar. He precedes this extensive quotation with a very short description and titles it *Versio Latina antiqua* (Erpenius 1617, fol. I-K3).

Erpenius' grammar concludes with the author's annotations on the *Historia Iosephi* in which he aims to 'illuminate the obscure fragments and uncover the grammatical explanation of the more difficult words' (*Thomae Erpenii annotationes in Historiam Iosephi, quibus obscuriora quaeque loca illustrantur et difficiliorum uocum ratio Grammatica exponitur*; Erpenius 1617, fol. K5). One of the first explanations that catches the reader's attention in this section is Erpenius' discussion of Arabic understandings of grammar:

> *Grammaticam Arabicam definiunt Arabes, methodicam compagem praeceptorum, ex verbo Dei collectorum, ad acquirendam exactam Arabicae linguae cognitionem idoneam. Per verbum Dei intelligunt legem suam, quae Koranus ipsis dicitur, et quam Muhammed iis persuasit coelitus ad se dimissam. Ea enim licet futilis sit, inepta, mendaciis referta, nulloque sensus acumine, aut argumentorum pondere, quod vel leviter hominem Christianum movere possit, instructa et tanta tamen est sermonis puritate, tam accurata analogia, et scripturae perfectione expressa, ut merito iis materia et norma Grammaticae constituatur.*[10]

Interestingly, this passage unequivocally links the study of Arabic grammar with the study of the Qurʾān. Here, Erpenius recog-

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[10] Erpenius 1617, fol. K6. 'The Arabs define Arabic grammar as a methodical binding of rules, collected from the word of God, sufficient for gaining an exact understanding of the Arabic language. They understand their law, which they call "Koran", as the word of God, and they were persuaded by Muhammed that it was sent to him from the heavens. And even though it is worthless, silly, filled with lies, and even though it cannot move a Christian even slightly by any sharp point of reason or weight of arguments, it is arranged with such a purity of speech and such a correct analogy, and expressed with such a perfection of scripture, that because of these merits it should be established as the subject and norm of grammar'.

nizes, and subscribes to, the view that the native speakers of the Arabic language had about their mother tongue grammar, and endeavors to apply it in teaching his own students. When compared with the praise Erpenius has for the Qurʾānic Arabic, the disdain he shows for Qurʾān's religious dimension seems almost perfunctory.

Having introduced further remarks on the terminology related to the Qurʾān, Erpenius (1617, fol. L3) moves on to explaining particular words and phrases of the *sūra*. The first quotation presented below makes reference to the verse 12:21:

وَقَالَ ٱلَّذِي ٱشْتَرَاهُ **مِن مِّصْرَ** لِٱمْرَأَتِهِ أَكْرِمِي مَثْوَاهُ عَسَىٰ أَن يَنفَعَنَا أَوْ نَتَّخِذَهُ وَلَدًا وَكَذَٰلِكَ مَكَّنَّا لِيُوسُفَ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ وَلِنُعَلِّمَهُ مِن تَأْوِيلِ ٱلْأَحَادِيثِ وَٱللَّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِهِ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ ٱلنَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

[*Et dixit qui emerat eum* **ex Aegypto** *mulieri suae: Honora habitationem eius, poterit fieri ut prosit nobis, aut sumamus eum in puerum. Et sic stabilivimus Iosephum in terra, et docuimus eum de explicatione narrationum. Nam Deus victor (est) supra negotium suum, uerum plurimi hominum non sciunt.*]

ex Aegypto] id est مِصْرِيّ Aegyptius, *uel* Memphiticus, *est enim* مِصْرُ, *nec non primaria Aegypti urbs* مِنْفُ *olim dicta, iam mille abhinc annis a Sarracenis destructa, in cuius locum deinde successit* فُسْطَاطُ, nunc ٱلْكَاهِرَةَ [القاهرة *sic pro*] Alcahira *quam* Alcairum *uulgo nominant: de hisce uide, si lubet, Geographorum principem Ismaelem Abulfedam, et Geographum Nubiensem, quos duos nobilissimos scriptores, diu multumque a uiris eruditis desideratos, Arabice et Latine quoque splendide breui lucem edituri sumus.*[11]

This quotation is particularly interesting when viewed alongside the announcement, quoted above, of the full edition of the

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[11] Erpenius 1617, fol. O1-O2. 'From Egypt] this means مِصْرِيّ ‹*Ar[abic]* Egyptian› "Egyptian", *or* Memphite, as it is مصر ‹*Ar.* Egypt›. Indeed the primary city of Egypt, formerly known as منف ‹*Ar.* Memphis›, has already been destroyed by the Saracens a thousand years ago. In the same location الفسطاط ‹*Ar.* Fustat› was later built, now ٱلْكَاهِرَةَ ‹*sic pro* القاهرة, *Ar.* Cairo›, *Alcahira* which is commonly called *Alcairum*, about which you may want to consult the prince of geographers, Ismaʿil Abulfeda ‹*Ar.* Abū l-Fidāʾ, ‹أبو الفداء›, and the Nubian Geographer ‹i.e. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī›, those two excellent writers, whom, so long-awaited by erudite men, we will shortly bring to light in fine Arabic and Latin editions'.

Qurʾān, as it offers a further glimpse of Erpenius' efforts to advertise his editorial projects. The Arabic phrase مِن مِّصْرَ ('from Egypt') is rather basic, and any beginner student would understand it without a problem. Nevertheless, under the pretext of explaining the collocation 'from Egypt', Erpenius seizes the opportunity to inform the student that he is planning to edit two major geographical works by the prince from Damascus Ismāʿīl Abū l-Fidāʾ and the North-African medieval scholar Muḥammad al-Idrīsī.[12]

The following note elaborates on verse 12:23:

وَرَاوَدَتْهُ ٱلَّتِي هُوَ فِي بَيْتِهَا عَن نَّفْسِهِ وَغَلَّقَتِ ٱلْأَبْوَابَ وَقَالَتْ **هَيْتَ** لَكَ قَالَ مَعَاذَ ٱللَّهِ إِنَّهُ رَبِّي أَحْسَنَ مَثْوَايَ إِنَّهُ لَا يُفْلِحُ الظَّالِمُونَ

[*Et petiit eum illa quae ipse in domo eius ab anima eius, atque occlusit ianuas, ac dixit:* **Age tibi.** *Dixit: Protectio Dei, nam ille Dominus meus, bonam fecit mansionem meam. Vtique non prosperantur improbi.*]

Age tibi] *uel* age ueni tibi هَيْتَ (*pro quo codices quidam habent* هَيْتَ *uel* هَيْتَ) *uocula est idem significans quod* هَلُمَّ age *uel* cito ueni *aut* uenite, *utriusque enim Generis sunt et Numeri.* لَكَ *adiectum omnino redundat, sed usitate tamen: sic dicitur quoque* هَلُم لَكَ age ueni tibi, *pro* age ueni: *si autem dualiter, uel Pluraliter usurpentur, Affixum duale fit uel plurale. Caeterum et haec modesta loquutio est* age ueni *scil.* Ad me, *pro* concumbe mecum. *Sic et Hebraei* בא uenire *pro* rem habere *usurpant.*[13]

In contrast to the previous comment, this statement focuses purely on questions of grammar and lexis. What draws our attention here is the use of the Hebrew word בא ('come') in order

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[12] As far as I am aware, Erpenius never fulfilled his promise to edit the works of Isma'il Abulfeda or Muhammad al-Idrisi.

[13] Erpenius 1617, fol. O4. 'Come on you] *or* quickly come for you هَيْتَ (for which some of the codices give هَيْتَ or هَيْتَ) since this little word means the same as هَلُمَّ ‹*Ar.* come› "come" or "come quickly" *or* "you [plural] come", as there are of both genders and numbers. لَكَ ‹*Ar.* for you› added is entirely redundant, but commonly used; so people also say لَكَ هَلُمَّ ‹*Ar.* come for you› "quickly come for you" in the sense of "come quickly". If it is used in the dual or plural, an affix makes it a dual or plural. Moreover, this modest expression is "come quickly" namely "to me" in the sense of "lie with me". As also the Hebrew use בא "to come" in the sense of "to have a thing"'.

to explain the connotations of the Arabic verb. It is worth mentioning at this point that most, if not all, sixteenth and seventeenth-century scholars adopted a specific trajectory of language learning in which Hebrew was bound to precede Arabic. The motivation behind Hebrew learning was pious and oriented toward reformation of the Christian Church, and efforts were made to endow the same pious zeal upon learning Arabic. The main problem with this approach was the intrinsic connection between the language and Islam, which students of Arabic did their best to circumvent. The intermediation of Oriental Christians, Maronites and Copts, was of paramount importance in the venture of Christianizing the Arabic language. And so too were attempts to point to parallels between Arabic and Hebrew. It almost seemed as though one language was incomplete without the other. And, although it was commonly stated that Arabic was necessary for better understanding of Hebrew, in practice, it was the other way round, as Hebrew studies always preceded the education in Arabic. Thus, early modern Arabic grammars provided examples built on the previous knowledge of Hebrew, molding in this way the methodology of learning Arabic.

A very short note makes reference to verse 12:25:

وَٱسْتَبَقَا ٱلْبَابَ وَقَدَّتْ قَمِيصَهُ مِن دُبُرٍ وَأَلْفَيَا سَيِّدَهَا لَدَى ٱلْبَابِ قَالَتْ مَا جَزَاءُ
مَنْ أَرَادَ بِأَهْلِكَ سُوءًا إِلَّا أَن يُسْجَنَ أَوْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

[*Et praecurrerunt ad portam, ac lacerauit tunicam eius a tergo et occurrerunt* **domino eius** *ad ianuam. Dixit: Quae retributio ei qui uoluit in familia tua malum nisi ut incarceretur aut cruciatus dolorificus.*]

Domino eius] scil. mulieris: *nam affixum foemininum est.* Dominus *pro* marito, *ut et in aliis linguis.*[14]

Also in this commentary, Arabic is compared to other languages. The note gives rise to a further issue stemming from the fact that Latin *eius* ('his, her, its') has the same form for all three genders while in Arabic the possessive pronouns in any declension have two genders, masculine and feminine. This problem brings us to

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[14] Erpenius 1617, fol. P. 'Her master] namely "of a woman" as the affix is feminine. "Master" in the sense of "husband", as in other tongues'.

the question of the adequacy of Latin as a vessel for transmitting the meaning of Arabic. The idea underpinning the presentation of the original Arabic text accompanied with two translations, one literal and the other one more free, was to allow the student to move from a source language-oriented translation to a target language-oriented one. This way the student would first encounter a variation of Latin that resembled as many features of the Arabic language as possible. Nevertheless, on occasions Latin stubbornly refused to resemble Arabic syntax and stylistics. In these cases, Erpenius would respect the inherent rules of Latin and provide his reader with an explanatory commentary.[15]

The final note quoted here pertains to the verse 12:30:

وَقَالَ نِسْوَةٌ فِي ٱلْمَدِينَةِ ٱمْرَأَتُ ٱلْعَزِيزِ تُرَاوِدُ فَتَاهَا عَن نَّفْسِهِ قَدْ **شَغَفَهَا حُبًّا** إِنَّا لَنَرَاهَا فِي ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ

[*Et dixerunt mulieres in ciuitate: Vxor illi potentis petit puerum suum ab anima eius iam **corripuit eam amore**. Vtique nos uidemus eam in errore manifesto.*]

Corripuit eam] *Iosephus, nam uerbum est masculinum:* شَغَافُ *est* περικάρδιον, *membrana qua cor obuoluitur, atque hinc facto uerbo dicunt* شَغَفَهُ ٱلْحُبُّ *quasi dicas,* pericardiauit eum amor, *id est,* pericardium eius ingressus est amor; captus est amore: *sed personae attributum cum Accusatiuo* amoris, *uti hoc fit loco,* transitiuum est, fui amorem dare, corripere amore, *unde* شَغَفَهَا حُبًّا *est* ille corripuit eam amore. Ea amore illius capta est. Amor illius in cor eius ingressus est.[16]

Erpenius is once again confronted with the limits of the Latin language, into which he seeks to render the meaning and connota-

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tions of the Arabic phrase. He even resorts to Greek. However, it may simply be the case that he sought to show off his printing press equipped with a Greek font. Be that as it may, the quality of information and minuteness of the commentary might well corroborate the notion that Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī participated in the preparation of material for this short grammar book.

The final part of the manual consists of three different Latin versions of the opening chapter, *al-Fātiḥah*. Erpenius (1617, fol. S3) includes here his own translation, printed above the Arabic text, from right to left. In the remaining part of the final section, Erpenius (1617, fol. S3) once again draws from Bibliander and inserts the first *sūra* in the 'old version' (*uersio antiqua*) by Robert of Ketton. From there, differently from how they appear in Bibliander, he incorporates Guillaume Postel's translation (*uersio Guljemi Postelli*) and a Mozarabic translation, which he deems 'a better version, closer to ours' (*uersio alia melior, nostraeque uicinior*; Erpenius 1617, fol. S3; cf. Hamilton 2017, p. 217). This brief grammar finishes with a commentary on this opening *sūra*.

Before concluding the paper, it is worth making a brief mention of the intriguing figure of Johann Zechendorff, the German headmaster surprisingly passionate about teaching his pupils Qurʾānic Arabic (Ben-Tov 2017). Zechendorff published his own edition and interlinear translation of parts of the Qurʾān. His *Specimen suratarum* contains *sūras* 61 and 78, and was printed in 1630 using Arabic types carved by one of his pupils. Zechendorff was the headmaster of the Zwickau Latin School from 1617, and it was only during his term of office that the school offered classes in Arabic. The headmaster himself probably did not know this language when he moved to Zwickau in 1617. Nevertheless, six years later, by 1623, Zechendorff already knew enough Arabic to teach it. The headmaster was aided by his own copy of the Qurʾān and a copy of Erpenius' *Grammatica Arabica* published in 1613. We know from his work *Fabulae Muhammedicae* (1627), first recited at the school's graduation ceremony, that Zechendorff was fascinated with parallels and similarities between the Qurʾān and the Bible. It seems that the headmaster's interest in the Qurʾān was largely a product of Lutheran piety, palpable in Zwickau, one of the first cities in Europe to join

the Lutheran Reformation. Zechendorff is also credited with a Latin translation of the Qurʾān recently discovered in the Cairo National Library (Tottoli 2015).

No scholar discussed in this paper did as much for the development of Arabic studies in early modern Europe as Thomas Erpenius. Upon studying Erpenius' *Historia Iosephi patriarchae*, David Colville may have developed the false impression that he had mastered the Arabic language. He surely felt motivated to look more closely at the Qurʾān out of philological interest. As a result, Colville copied the text with glosses, annotations, and multiple versions, thus embracing the tools for language study based on a Qurʾānic translation. Broadly speaking, Latin translations of the Qurʾān are testimony to the difficulties faced by European intellectual elites committed to learning Arabic in early modern times. The methods for studying the language were limited. Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, the commissioner of the 1518 rendition of the Qurʾān, chose to rely not only on a skillfully prepared translation but also on the assistance of native speakers in his quest to understand Arabic. Thomas Erpenius was also indebted to Arabic speakers for their help in language acquisition. David Colville, on the other hand, was a firm believer in self-education, reluctant to admit, at least on paper, the linguistic superiority of native speakers.

European approaches to the Qurʾān underwent a discernible shift in the modern period. Notwithstanding the enduring polemical declarations and pious statements that prominently protruded from the prefaces of many published works, glosses and annotations to translations of the Qurʾān reveal that interest in this holy book was often strictly philological, rather than polemical or hostile. The theological dimensions of the text were systematically left aside, as priority was given to attaining sufficient mastery of Arabic.

Despite Egidio da Viterbo's learning strategies, passages of the Qurʾān were not particularly popular among Roman Catholics, even for use in language exercises. Thus, perspectives regarding the use of materials in teaching Arabic constituted yet another difference between Protestant and Catholic Europe. While Erpenius' popularity was unquestionable among the Protestants, Catholics preferred to aid themselves with Arabic translations

of Christian gospel and prayers (Girard 2017; Hamilton 2017). Furthermore, Arabic studies were impregnated with apologetic underpinnings. For example, fluency in the language was justified as a necessary step in order to understand Hebrew. Thus, while the first problem for Arabic language learning in early modern Europe was that it was the language of the Qurʾān, the second problem was the scarcity of materials apt for language acquisition. Egidio da Viterbo, Erpenius, Zechendorff, and Colville approached this setback boldly and were not reluctant to use excerpts from the Qurʾān 'with all the vowels correctly annotated' as training material for practicing standard Arabic.

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate how European scholars used the Qurʾān for learning Arabic. In this study I compare various renditions of *sūra* 12 (*Sūrat Yūsuf*, يوسف), the first preserved in a Latin translation of the Qurʾān commissioned by the cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532), the second published in Thomas Erpenius's textbook *Historia Iosephi Patriarchae, ex Alcorano, Arabice* (Leiden, 1617). Both Egidio da Viterbo's translation of the Qurʾān and Erpenius' grammar bear testimony to a shift in perceptions of the Qurʾān in the early modern period: while still understood as a text loaded with 'lies and fables', it was also seen to provide excellent training material for the practice of standard Arabic. I also consider how Arabic was learned in relation to other foreign languages taught in the European curricula of the time.

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HEBREW AS THE ORIGINAL PHILOSOPHIC LANGUAGE IN THE WRITINGS OF MEDIEVAL JEWISH SCHOLARS

> [...] because of the inherent superiority of Hebrew as a language, and because of all the information that is contained within it.
>
> Judah Halevi, *The Kuzari*, 2: 66.

1. The myth of the Hebraic origins of philosophy is an ancient phenomenon.[1] It originated with early Greek philosophers who were fascinated with the esoteric wisdoms of eastern peoples, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, and also the Hebrews.[2] Later Hellenistic Jewish scholars, such as Philo of Alexandria, Artephanus, and Flavius Josephus, inherited the myth from them, developed it further, and transmitted it to future generations, both in order to prove the originality and superiority of their people and to justify the study of Greek philosophy by Jews (see Melamed 2010, ch. 1-2 for more details). The moment one assumes that the Torah contains all true scientific knowledge, the study of philosophy becomes part and parcel of the study of the Torah itself, which is a mandatory commandment for every Jew.

The assumption that the written Torah (Old Testament) and oral Torah (the rabbinic teachings) contain all true philosophical knowledge was based on the belief in its direct divine origin; since God is assumed to be the source of all true knowledge, it necessarily follows that the text he bestowed upon humans must contain this knowledge in its entirety, at the very least in its hidden esoteric layers, which must be deciphered by those capa-

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[1] This paper is based on the findings of my book (Melamed 2010), originally written in Hebrew.

[2] There is much scholarly discussion of this topic. See for instance Dahlquist 1962; Lloyd 1991; West 1971; Gager 1972; Hengel 1980; Sadler 1980; Dihle 1984; Siker 1987; Torijano 2002.

ble of it, and who are allowed to deal with such delicate matters. This myth was reintroduced in medieval Jewish philosophy, influenced by Muslim and Christian intermediaries, and exerted great influence in all three monotheistic cultures. All scientific knowledge, they believed, must have originally stemmed, at least indirectly, from the ancient *Hebraica veritas* (see Melamed 2010, part 2 for a detailed discussion).

A major component of this myth is that Hebrew must have been the original philosophic language, the language in which they believed the world was created and the Torah was given. The biblical story of creation is based on the causal relationship between the act of divine speech and the beginning of all the natural phenomena, as the Hebrew Bible says (Gen. 1:3-5): 'And God said: "Let there be light", and there was light. [...] God called the light day and the darkness he called night'. The act of divine speech brought nature into being, and God also named, thus defined, every natural phenomenon, in Hebrew of course. The rabbis counted ten such acts of divine speech in the act of creation, as we find in the *Mishnah Avot* 5.1: 'The world was created with ten utterances'. There is a great reservoir of Midrashic discussions concerning the meaning and purpose of these utterances. The world was created in Hebrew and the Torah was given in Hebrew; this is the language in which God speaks and acts. Hebrew is the language of both the written and oral Torah, which, being the word of God, source of all knowledge, must include all philosophic truth, hidden in its endless esoteric levels.

According to biblical evidence, the Hebrews were considered to be the most ancient people, thus their language must have been the most ancient language. Consequently, these scholars argued, this must also have been the original language in which humans philosophized. Since they believed that philosophy was first developed by the ancient Hebrews – Abraham, Moses, King Solomon, the prophet Jeremiah, and so forth – it necessarily followed that they must have philosophized in their own language. The problem they faced was that philosophy, as they encountered it, was apparently written originally in Greek. What they had in their hands were the writings of Plato and Aristotle as they were transmitted, translated, and interpreted throughout the ages (Gutas 1999), and not the supposed original Hebrew writings of Abra-

ham, Moses, or Solomon, which had apparently disappeared, and with it the knowledge of the esoteric philosophic layers of the Hebrew Bible. Consequently, various medieval Jewish scholars argued that Greeks and other ancient scholars studied with Hebrew sages, stole the ancient Hebraic wisdom, translated it to their own languages, concealed their sources, and then claimed it as their own original creations. An early typical example of this argument can be found in Judah Halevi's *Book of the Kuzari* 2.66 (Muslim Spain, twelfth century):

> Perhaps you can say the same about Solomon's wisdom, that our knowledge today pales by comparison. Because of his divine inspiration, his masterful intellect, and his inborn disposition, he was able to address all areas of knowledge. All the nations of the world – from as far as India – came to him to transcribe [*or* translate, *le-ha'atik*] his wisdom for themselves. Thus, the foundations and fundamentals of all areas of knowledge trace themselves to us. They were passed first to the Chaldeans, then to Persia and Mede, then to Greece, and then to Rome. With the passage of time and many transcriptions [*or* translators, *ma'atikim*], it was forgotten that these areas of wisdom originated with the Jews, and they were instead attributed to the Greeks and Romans. Additionally, much was lost in translation [*ha'atakah*] from Hebrew, because of the inherent superiority of Hebrew as a language, and because of all the information that is contained within it. (trans. Korobkin 1998, p. 109-110)

One should notice that Halevi argues here that scholars came to Solomon from as far as India. India, however, is not mentioned at all in the biblical text, but was added in order to enhance his argument. India was considered to be at the edges of the known world and was regarded as a land of profound esoteric knowledge. Solomon's reputation was thus apparently so widespread that even the great Indian sages came to hear his wisdom from such a great distance (see Melamed 2006 for more details).

Another example can be found in the writings of Shemtov ibn Falaquera (Provence, thirteenth century):

> I think, and this is the truth, that the most ancient philosophers received philosophy from Shem and Eber and Abraham our father, and the rest of the fathers, all the more so from

> King Solomon and the wise men who were active in his gen-
> eration. It is common knowledge that in the time of Solomon
> they arrived from the four corners of the world in order to
> hear his wisdom. [...] And everyone who heard anything
> from him or attributed to him, would write it in his own
> language, since it is the habit of every people to translate
> [*le-ha'atik*] whatever they find from among the wisdoms to
> their language.[3]

Falaquera went all the way back to the very beginnings of human-
ity in order to prove that the most ancient gentile scholars stud-
ied with the most ancient Hebrew sages: Shem, Eber, Abraham,
and so forth. Like Halevi and many others, the biblical story
of Solomon, the wisest of all men, was his main prooftext.
He considered this to be the ultimate proof of the Hebraic ori-
gins of human knowledge. This was the main justification for the
study of philosophy by the Jews. It was not a study of something
alien to Judaism, God forbid, but a reconstruction – and reclaim-
ing – of the original Hebraic wisdom, now retranslated back
into Hebrew, where it naturally belonged, from the Greeks who
confiscated it.

2. The main question here is the following: how exactly did gen-
tile scholars receive the Hebraic knowledge? One should distin-
guish between the spoken and written language. The fact that God
created the world by ten utterances was proof that Hebrew
was the first spoken language, while the fact that the Torah was
given in Hebrew was proof that it was the first written language.
This was of course of enormous importance, since no advanced
culture can exist without a written language. Medieval scholars
accordingly delineated two possible avenues by which Hebraic
philosophy was transmitted to ancient gentile scholars: oral
transmission and written transmission. As for oral transmission,
Falaquera argued in the above quoted text that gentile scholars,
who acknowledged the intellectual superiority of the Hebrews,
personally came to study with Hebraic sages. His main proof-
text is a biblical verse (1 Kings 10:24), which says the following:

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[3] Falaquera 1893, p. 11. All the texts were translated by me, unless otherwise
indicated. For Falaquera's discussion of the myth see Melamed 2010, p. 126-138.

'And all the world sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God had put in his heart'. And Solomon was of course the wisest of all men. In this verse, Falaquera specifically argues that those gentile scholars received Solomon's knowledge through oral transmission (apparently in Hebrew). Only later did they make translations to their own languages. Since Solomon's wisdom is described as stemming directly from divine providence, it necessarily follows that gentile sages, who did not receive such a divine gift and had to rely on limited human understanding alone, could never achieve such philosophic perfection and thus had to learn from those few who received divine knowledge by act of prophecy.

There are various fictitious stories which claimed that ancient Greek philosophers, mostly Plato and Aristotle, studied with Hebrew scholars and acquired their knowledge from them. The abovementioned ibn Falaquera presented a story that claimed Plato had met with an unspecified Jewish scholar and was astounded by his mastery of metaphysics:

> And he said that Plato said: One of those who deal with divine knowledge [metaphysics] from among the sons of Israel, came to me. In the beginning I was not impressed by him at all. However, when he started to discuss with me divine matters, and his union with the active intellect, I saw something which astounded me. His ultimate purpose was that I would understand some of what he was talking about, and I know that this is beyond the capacity of humans. (ed. Shifman 2001, p. 116)

Later Jewish scholars identified this anonymous philosopher as the prophet Jeremiah, and this tradition became commonplace, as one example among many may serve to illustrate:

> Some of the Greek philosophers already agreed with the prophets, as Plato said: I spent time with Jeremiah in Egypt. In the beginning I ridiculed what he had to say. Later on, however, when I got used to converse with him, I found out that his talk is divine, and totally verified.[4]

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[4] Netanel ibn Caspi, *Commentary on the Kuzari*, MS Oxford, Bodleian, 1229. For more examples, see Melamed 2010, p. 135-136.

Plato is described here as going through a process of transformation, from ridicule of the Hebrew sage due to his anti-Judaic bias, to admiration of the profound metaphysical wisdom of the prophet, which he could never fully comprehend, since he did not receive divine revelation.

This tradition appeared earlier among the writings of Christian scholars, which were most probably the sources from which Jewish scholars received the tradition. St Augustine refuted the possibility that it was Jeremiah with whom Plato had met – because of obvious chronological discrepancies – but nonetheless argued that it was quite plausible that Plato had met there with certain Jewish scholars and studied the Torah somehow.[5] Later Christian scholars, such as Roger Bacon, accepted this story at face value (*Opus Majus*, 2.12, ed. & trans. Burke 1928, p. 61-62).

Of all the prophets, it was especially Jeremiah who was considered a supreme philosopher; there is one Christian tradition in which he was even the teacher of Zoroaster (Levi 1891). The connecting factor between Jeremiah and Plato is the location: the Hebrew Bible tells us that Jeremiah escaped to Egypt from Jerusalem, fleeing persecution there (Ier. 43), while the Greek tradition informs us that Plato visited Egypt. This was a perfect site for such a momentous meeting; since antiquity, Egypt has been considered a land of profound esoteric wisdom (Dannenfeldt 1959; Iversen 1993; Humbert & al. 1994; Hornung 2001).

Similar stories evolved concerning Aristotle's Hebraic sources, which were much more prevalent in the medieval period due to the fact that Aristotle was considered the master of philosophers

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[5] St Augustine, *The City of God*, 8. 11, trans. Bettenson 1986, p. 313-314: 'Some of those who are united in fellowship with us in the grace of Christ are amazed when they hear or read that Plato had a conception of God which they recognize as agreeing, in many respects, with the truth of our religion. This has given rise to the suggestion that, at the time of his journey to Egypt, Plato listened to the prophet Jeremiah, or else that during the same foreign tour he read the prophetical Scriptures. [...] But a careful calculation of the dates [...] show that Plato was born about a century after the period of Jeremiah's prophetic activity. [...] Nor could he have read his writings, since they had not been translated into Greek [...] unless perhaps, in his eager thirst for knowledge, he gained acquaintance with them – as he did with Egyptian books – with the help of an interpreter. [...] It may have been that he learned by word of mouth as much as he could understand of the contents of the Scriptures'.

throughout this period.[6] Spurious stories concerning Aristotle's life in general, and his Hebraic sources in particular, were commonplace in both the Muslim and Christian traditions, which later influenced the Jewish variations on this theme.[7] Like their Christian counterparts, Jewish scholars claimed that the great Greek philosopher converted to monotheism at an old age, influenced by Jewish scholars. The Christians regarded his conversion to Judaism as a preliminary stage to his baptism. One such story, which first appears in the writings of the fourteenth-century Provencal Jewish scholar Joseph ibn Caspi contended that Aristotle studied with Hebrew sages during the Second Temple Period, and acquired all his knowledge from them:

> And our venerable sages were the first to discuss the emendation of the body and the soul in various places. And Aristotle fully interpreted their sayings in his *Ethics*. This wise man was active during the Second Temple period, and whatever is true in what he says he learned from them. He deviated from their words only concerning the eternity of the world and some astronomical issues in which they themselves admitted that the sages of the nations were right.[8]

In this passage, Jewish scholars synthesized the Greek tradition in which Aristotle joined his pupil Alexander on his voyage to the east, and the rabbinic tale that Alexander met with the elders of the Jews after he conquered Jerusalem and was astounded by their wisdom (Goldstein 1993). Now Aristotle is described as the man who met with the rabbinic sages.

In order to make such a meeting possible, ibn Caspi pushed the period of Aristotle's activity forward by a few hundred years. It is unclear whether he was unaware of the chronological discrepancy, or knowingly disregarded it. In either case, it was crucial for him to create the best possible historical meeting point between the great Greek philosopher and the Hebrew sages, in order

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[6] See the detailed discussion in Melamed 2010, ch. 6, as well as Melamed 2012; forthcoming.

[7] For the Arabic traditions, see Gutas 2000. For the Christian traditions, see Chroust 1945; Kraye & al. 1986; Rowson 1992.

[8] Joseph ibn Caspi, *Iggeret ha-Musar*, cited from Abrahams 1948, p. 133. On Ibn Caspi's discussion of the myth, see also Melamed 2010, p. 181-190.

to prove that he had directly learned from them. As corroborative evidence, ibn Caspi indicates that in most philosophic issues, especially ethics, Aristotle's views are identical to those of the rabbis. Exceptions were the theory of creation, in which Aristotle deviated because he did not receive divine revelation, and some astronomical issues, in which the rabbis themselves already indicated that in such purely scientific matters, one may prefer the opinions of gentile scholars, in case that they are scientifically proven.

For some Jewish scholars such general stories were not enough. In order to strengthen the verification of their claim, they tried to pinpoint the specific minute details of Aristotle's meetings with specific sages, such as Simeon the Just and Rabban Gamliel, two of the greatest rabbinic authorities of late antiquity. For the scholars, this represented the ultimate meeting point between the greatest Greek philosopher and the greatest Jewish sages, who astounded the philosopher with their profound metaphysical knowledge. Isaac Abravanel (Portugal-Spain-Italy, late fifteenth century) specifically argued that Simeon the Just personally taught Aristotle the secrets of physics and metaphysics, two of the cornerstones of Aristotelian philosophy:

> We are informed by a letter written by Aristotle the philosopher, that he was the teacher of Alexander, and he used to travel with him. He tells us that he discussed there [in Jerusalem] with Simeon the Just issues of natural philosophy [physics]. When they passed on to discuss divine wisdom [metaphysics], the Hebrew sage showed great knowledge and understanding. Aristotle was astounded by the depth of his knowledge in metaphysics. We can find in his letters various comments concerning what he said and what Simeon answered.[9]

A by-product of this tradition, which will not be discussed here, is that as a consequence of these meetings, Aristotle not only acquired his philosophical knowledge from them, but also became a 'righteous among the nations' on his deathbed, and even converted to Judaism (see note 6 above).

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[9] Abravanel 1953, p. 51-52. On Abravanel's discussion of the myth, see Melamed 2010, p. 172-177, 195-203 & 278-280.

Various other stories about Jewish sages who taught gentile scholars circulated widely. On the basis of old rabbinic traditions some argued that Rabbi Samuel, who is described as a great astronomer, conversed with Epicurus, or that Rabbi Akiba held a discussion with Zenon (Halkin 1979). There is a tradition that Pythagoras studied with the prophet Ezekiel when the latter was exiled in Mesopotamia, that Socrates received his knowledge from the biblical sage Ahitofel, and so forth – all this in order to prove that the most ancient Greek philosophers, even the Pre-Socratics, learned directly from the most ancient Hebrew sages, which led to the conclusion that philosophy at its entirety directly stemmed from the *Hebraica veritas*.[10]

Notwithstanding the fact that these traditions blurred the great chronological gap between the Greek scholars and the Hebrew sages, who in reality predated or postdated them by a few centuries, the problem looms concerning the categorical question: in which language exactly did they converse? In order to carry a meaningful philosophic dialogue, both parties must have been highly proficient in the same language, a language which is suited to carry a serious intellectual discussion. Which one was it? Unfortunately, most sources are conspicuously silent on this topic. Only Augustine remarked that Plato could not have known Hebrew and thus had to use an interpreter (see note 5 above). It seems that the Church fathers and medieval Jewish scholars both assumed that the language must have naturally been Hebrew: Hebrew predated Greek, and only this language was considered appropriate to carry a meaningful philosophic dialogue at that time. None, however, bothered to consider the simple question of how on earth the Pre-Socratics, Plato, and Aristotle could have known Hebrew.

In reality, the opposite situation, in which the Jewish sages could speak and read Greek, is much more plausible, considering the fact that they belonged to an ethnic minority, which existed for a prolonged period under Hellenistic domination (Fischel

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[10] For Pythagoras, see the mid-seventeenth-century scholar writing in Amsterdam Manasseh ben Israel in his *Nishmat Hayyim* (1876, p. 85a); cf. also Manasseh ben Israel 1842, p. 171. For Socrates, see the sixteenth-century Polish Jew Moses Isserlish, *Torat ha-Olah*, 1. 11 (ed. 1570 [1983], p. 13).

1973; Werblowsky 1978). There is in fact one story, chronicled by Clarchus of Soli, about a conversation between Aristotle and a Jewish philosopher in Asia Minor which attests to this possibility:

> This man, then, was a Judean by descent from Coele-Syria. These people are descendants of the philosophers in India. Among the Indians, they say, the philosophers are called Calanoi, and among the Syrians, Judeans, taking their name from the place; for the place they inhabit is called Judea. [...] Now this man [...] was Greek not only in his speech but also in his soul [...] and this man visited the same places and encountered us and some other scholars, testing our wisdom, but as he had been in the company of many educated people, it was he, rather, who conveyed some of what he had.[11]

Here it is clear that they spoke in Greek, which comes of course as no surprise. However, when Jewish scholars accounted the stories concerning Aristotle's meetings with rabbinic sages in Jerusalem, they naturally assumed that they spoke in Hebrew. While the Italian humanist and Hebraist Giannozzo Manetti observed that the assumption that a culturally refined Greek would have found any interest in a barbaric language such as Hebrew was incomprehensible (*Lingua veluti barbara quedam et immanis*; Trinkaus 1970, p. 578 & 820-821, n. 68), Jewish scholars assumed that it would have been abhorrent for a rabbinic sage to use a barbaric language such as Greek in order to discuss theological issues.

3. The second mode of transmission was textual. Medieval Jewish scholars believed that Greek scholars read Hebrew texts, translated, and appropriated them, and concealed their Hebraic origins – this is the old motif of the theft of philosophy.[12] Aristotle not only learned directly from the Hebrew sages during his

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[11] Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1. 32. 177-180, trans. & comm. Barclay 2013, p. 104-105. See Levi 1960. On the traditions concerning the Indian philosophers and their identification with Hebrew sages, see Melamed 2006.

[12] On this topic, see the extensive discussion in Melamed 2010, passim, but also Roth 1978.

voyage to the east with Alexander, he also used the opportunity to confiscate Solomon's great library in Jerusalem, to translate those books to Greek, and to attribute their authorship to himself, thereby concealing their Hebraic origins. This tradition was widespread and had several variations, as is visible for instance in the following passage by the above-mentioned ibn Caspi:

> And the Book of Nature [Physics], and Divine Matters [Metaphysics], were stolen from us and attributed to Aristotle, due to our sins; all are [originally] the wisdom of the Torah.[13]

Ibn Caspi deliberately referred to books in two specific branches of Aristotelian philosophy: physics and metaphysics. A later Jewish scholar, Meir Eldabi (Spain, fourteenth century), described a detailed story of the circumstances and process by which Aristotle confiscated these books and transmitted them to his students:

> I found it written that Aristotle the Greek, whom all scholars follow and draw from his books, was the teacher of Alexander who ruled upon the whole world. And when Alexander conquered Jerusalem, he made Aristotle master of Solomon's treasure [library]. Then he investigated Solomon's books, confiscated them, copied [*or* translated, *he'etik*] them, attributed them to himself, and added his own errors. Then he concealed Solomon's [original] books; all in order to mislead the world that Aristotle himself composed these books independently. And when I, the author, saw this, I was thrilled with God; this was the proof that all the wisdoms which are now in the possession of Edom [Christianity] and Ishmael [Islam], originally belonged to the Sons of Israel, and all what they [the gentiles] said are sheer lies and deceit.[14]

According to this version of the story, Alexander appointed Aristotle to handle this textual trove. Aristotle transmitted the Hebraic texts in five stages: he first investigated them, then trans-

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[13] Joseph ibn Caspi, *Commentary on Maimonides' Guide*, in *Three Early Commentators* 1839 [1961], p. 2.

[14] Meir Eldabi, *Shvilei Emunah*, 1886 [1987], p. 163.

lated them to Greek, then attributed their authorship to himself, adding his own original references next, and then concealed their true origin. Aristotle's original additions are described as errors, which distorted the true meaning of these texts. Assuming these texts contained divine knowledge at its fullness, any addition must have been redundant and faulty. As a pagan who did not receive the gift of prophecy, he could have never reached the intellectual level of the wisest of all men. The concealment was intended to annihilate any evidence of the true Hebraic origin of these texts, so he could attribute them entirely to himself. This was a premeditated intellectual theft which required sophisticated concealment of his footprints. Aristotle is thus presented here not as 'the philosopher', as he was traditionally described, but rather as the stereotype of the intellectual thief.

Here again, these scholars remained silent concerning the question of how exactly Aristotle could have read Hebrew books, and who exactly translated them for him. The literal meaning of the text is that he himself translated them. The Hebrew term used here and elsewhere is *ha'atakah*. This term literally means 'to transfer knowledge' (*translatio studii*; Jongkees 1967) or 'to copy a text'. In medieval Hebrew it was specifically and consistently used to denote translation, which is in effect a mode of transferring a text from one language to another language and cultural environment. Modern Hebrew uses a different term altogether to denote translation (*targum*). It is not clear from this text whether Aristotle himself translated these books, which would mean that he could fluently read and write in Hebrew, or whether he employed a professional translator who was fluent in both languages.

We know of various cases in which professional translators were employed in order to translate Hebrew texts to Greek and Latin. One of the traditions surrounding the translation of the Torah to Greek – the *Septuagint*, which was very widespread in medieval culture – is that King Ptolemy II of Egypt, described here as a philosopher-king, in Platonic fashion, was so fascinated with what he heard concerning the Torah of the Jews that he brought over the seventy elders from Jerusalem in order to translate it to Greek for him. In historical reality, the translation was most probably an internal Jewish matter, intended to be used by

Jews in Alexandria who could no longer read Hebrew fluently. This fabricated tradition, however, was meant as yet another proof of the superiority of the *Hebraica veritas*, hence its lasting popularity.[15] In historical reality, we know of quite a few cases in which medieval Christian rulers and scholars commissioned the translation of Hebrew texts to Latin (Roth 1985; Sermoneta 1990).

In Meir Eldabi's case, however, the text is quite ambivalent; it literally states that Aristotle himself translated Solomon's books, whereas other texts insist that he personally conversed with Hebrew sages – both apparently in Hebrew – all in order to prove the originality and superiority of this language. Again, none of these scholars bothered to contemplate on the curious question of how on earth Aristotle could speak and read Hebrew fluently. It was apparently quite clear to them that, seeing that he was such a great philosopher, he somehow must have known the original philosophic language – both spoken and written – without which no serious philosophic discourse was possible.

4. The belief that Hebrew was the original language, of divine origin, brought some scholars to the radical conclusion that all other languages, including Greek, stemmed from Hebrew. As a result, not only philosophy but language itself – especially written language, a precondition for the existence of a sophisticated culture – is originally a Hebraic creation. Consequently, the very ability to philosophize in Greek, and other languages, was rooted in its Hebraic origins, even if and when certain philosophic ideas or scientific theories were later independently developed in these languages.

Augustine (*The City of God*, 18.37) had already disputed the claim that the Egyptians were the first to develop astronomy with the argument that the study of astronomy necessitates a written language, which only the Hebrews had. Moses had been the one who taught the Egyptians the secrets of a written language, enabling them to develop astronomy afterward; Roger Bacon repeated

[15] For the traditions concerning this translation, see *Letter of Aristeas*, ed. Hadas 1951; Philo of Alexandria, *The Life of Moses*, 2.34-41; Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 12.103-107.

this assertion (*Opus Majus*, 2.9-12, ed. & trans. Burke 1928). Furthermore, Eusebius famously argued that the Greeks took much of their knowledge from the barbarians, and their language originated from the Hebrew.[16] This thesis was later advanced by the sixteenth-century Italian Jewish scholar Gedaliah ibn Yahiah, stating that 'the Greek letters were first developed by Moses'.[17] Basing himself on the authority of Eusebius, he claimed that the Greek language directly derived from the Hebrew.

St Isidore (bishop of Seville, seventh century), in his endeavor to enhance the status of Latin, argued that language is not just a divine creation but is owned by humans who use it throughout history, and change it as they need. He thus rejected the Jewish assertion that Hebrew was the only philosophical language, arguing that it went out of usage long ago, and had been replaced by Latin, the only language in which one can now express oneself precisely and theorize. While in the Jewish tradition the demise of Hebrew as the one and only original language of humanity was considered a divine punishment for the vanity of building the Tower of Babel, Isidore argued that since it was God who divided the tongues, this should be considered an expression of divine will, which befits the changing needs of humanity (Borst 1992, p. 17-19 & 22-23).

Such ideas were adapted and developed further by some early modern Christian Hebraists, such as Reuchlin and Postel, who believed that Hebrew was the language in which the first humans spoke, from which all other languages evolved throughout history. They explained the difference between Hebrew and these languages as an accumulation of mistakes committed by children and uneducated people, and natural consequences of processes

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[16] Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, 10. 4-5, trans. Gifford 2002, p. 506-507: '[...] the Greeks are convicted of having stolen everything from the barbarians. [...] First therefore he who introduced to the Greeks common letters [...], namely Cadmus, was a Phoenician [...]. But some say that the Syrians were the first who devised letters. Now these Syrians would be Hebrews who inhabited the neighboring country to Phoenicia, which was [...] afterwards [called] Judaea [...]. And it is evident that the sound of Greek letters is very closely connected with these. For example, each letter among the Hebrews has its name from some significant idea, a circumstance which it is not possible to trace among the Greeks'.

[17] Gedaliah ibn Yahiah, *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, 1877, p. 132.

of immigration, wars, and the mixture of populations. From every language stemming from Hebrew other languages evolved in turn. Since Hebrew was considered to be the most perfect original language, of divine origin, it necessarily followed that the development of other languages from it was a process of distortion and decline. Consequently, philosophy was also thought to deteriorate throughout the ages. As a result, Hebrew scholars thought it their mission to reconstruct it by going back to its original Hebraic sources, for which the study of Hebrew became indispensable. This was the ultimate justification for their specialization in Judaic studies (Hodgen 1971, passim; Coudert 1999).

Johannes Reuchlin, founder of Christian Hebraism, mostly advanced Kabbalistic ideas he received from Pico della Mirandola. He interpreted these ideas in their broad meaning: as the chain of tradition, transmitted throughout the ages since the first moment when Adam received it from an angel – all in Hebrew, of course. In his *De verbo mirifico* (1494) and *De arte cabbalistica* (1517), Hebrew is described as the first written language, invented by Moses, prior to Egyptian writing. Reuchlin grounded his belief in the Hebraic origin of philosophy on the assumption that Hebrew was the first language humans philosophized in, arguing that Pythagoras, father of Greek philosophy, received all his knowledge from Hebrew sages in India, called Brahmins, which means, descendants of Abraham.[18] On the basis of this influence, Pythagoras is said to have coined the Greek word *philosophia*, which did not exist hitherto, as a direct translation of the Hebrew term for wise men (*hachamim*). Pythagoras would have used the Greek equivalent, *sophoi*, in order to create the Greek term which denotes philosophy. He allegedly chose this particular word – meaning 'wise men' – as the basis for the new term because Pythagoras introduced to the Greek tradition the Hebraic idea that knowledge is not based on rational investigation, but rather on the authority of the wise men, those who were entrusted to transmit the chain of tradition. This Kabbalistic notion of authority is of course very different

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[18] Reuchlin 1983, p. 127-131. See the detailed discussions in Blau 1944, ch. 4; Friedman 1983, p. 24-28, 56-57 & 71-98; Manuel 1992, p. 19-20, 44-46; Oberman 1983.

from what we understand about the true nature of Greek philosophy, and philosophy at large (Reuchlin 1983, p. 91-125). Reuchlin was called *miraculum trilingue* ('the miracle of three languages') by his admirers, for he had mastered Hebrew in addition to Greek and Latin.

Guillaume Postel likewise assumed that Hebrew was the first philosophic language. Noah taught his descendants, mainly Japheth, the secrets of Kabbalah – in Hebrew of course, and this tradition was later carried over to Spain and France. Postel seems to have assumed that the European languages, mainly French, evolved from this first origin of all human languages. He was furthermore convinced that Plato received the theory of ideas from the Hebrews, and that the very term *ideas* originated in the Hebrew language (Bouwsma 1957, p. 48-52 & 252-261).

With the advent of the Enlightenment and the idea of progress, such ideas were openly ridiculed. David Hume called the Hebrews 'a barbarous and ignorant people', while William Collins labelled them 'an illiterate, barbarous, and ridiculous people'.[19] Such ideas were echoed later by Voltaire, who categorically argued that the Jews did not excel in any art, and had no philosophy (Herzberg 1968, ch. 9; Sutcliffe 2003, ch. 12). An illiterate and barbarous people cannot, of course, invent writing and philosophize.

Jewish scholars who were influenced by the Enlightenment – even those who still adhered to the old myth of the Hebraic origins of language and philosophy – could not disregard the new theories concerning the origins of human language, which now shifted from the Hebrews to the ancient Egyptians or Chinese.[20] They endeavored to salvage some of their lost Hebraic pride. Isaac Satanov, active in the late eighteenth century, argued that Moses developed the Hebrew letters from the Egyptian Hieroglyphs: 'Moses was the first to invent written letters. Before him writing was unknown in the world, besides for the Egyptian priests who used drawn letters called hieroglyphs' (Satanov 1787,

[19] See references and discussion in Manuel 1983, p. 118 & 122; Sutcliffe 2003, p. 228; Melamed 2010, ch. 14.

[20] For the myth of Egypt, see Section 2 above. For the myth of China, see Gay 1977; Schwab 1984.

p. 39a). Likewise, Moses Mendelssohn argued that the Hebrew alphabet evolved from the hieroglyphs, from which all the alphabets known to us evolved:

> But that our alphabet was borrowed from some kind of hieroglyphic writing can still be discerned today in most of the shapes and names of the letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, from which, as history clearly shows, all other known ways of writing originated. It was a Phoenician who introduced the Greeks in the art of writing. (Mendelssohn 1986, p. 110)

Now the Hebrews were relegated to those who were the first to develop writing out of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Still, Mendelssohn contended that all other written languages, primarily Greek, evolved from Hebrew; its priority and superiority were thus retained.

The abovementioned Satanov even argued, based on some ambiguous Talmudic source, that print was first invented by a Jew, ages before Guttenberg:

> He [Ben Kamtzar] took four pens between his five fingers and wrote four letters simultaneously [*Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma, 38b*]. There is no question that he used the art of printing, which he knew, which was [re]invented by a Christian 341 years ago. (Satanov 1787, p. 39a)

It took a few hundred years since the invention of print for such a contention to appear. Thus, the Hebrews were not only those who first developed the written language and philosophized in it; they apparently were also the first to print such texts!

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Abstract

The myth of the Hebraic origins of philosophy is an ancient phenomenon. It originated with Greek philosophers who were fascinated with the esoteric wisdoms of eastern people. Later Hellenistic Jewish scholars acquired the myth from them, further developed it, and transmitted it to future generations, both in order to prove the originality and superiority of their people, and to justify the study of Greek philosophy by the Jews. The assumption that the written Torah (Old Testament) and oral Torah (the Rabbinic teachings) contain all true philosophical knowledge was based on the belief in its direct divine origin. Since God is assumed to be the source of all true knowledge, it necessarily follows that the text he bestowed upon humans must contain this knowledge in its entirety, at least in its hidden esoteric layers. This myth was reintroduced in medieval Jewish philosophy, influenced by Muslim and Christian intermediaries, and exerted great influence in all three monotheistic cultures. A major component of this myth, which is the focus of my contribution, is that Hebrew is the original philosophic language. It was believed that this was the language in which the world was created and the Torah was given. Consequently, they argued that this must also have been the original language in which humans philosophized. Since they believed that philosophy was first developed by the ancient Hebrews, Abraham, Moses, and Solomon, it follows that they must have philosophized in their own language. Consequently, many medieval Jewish scholars, including Judah Halevi and Shemtov ibn Falaquera, argued that the Greeks and other nations translated the Hebraic philosophy from Hebrew to their own languages, and then claimed it to be their own. The sixteenth-century scholar Gedaliah ibn Yahiah even claimed that the Greek language directly derived from the Hebrew. Such ideas were adapted by some early modern Christian Hebraists, notably Reuchlin, who used it as justification for the study of the Hebrew language.

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DE LA JURISPRUDENCE DE REUCHLIN AUX *ARTES* D'ÉRASME

LA CONSOLIDATION DE LA CULTURE GRÉCO-ROMAINE*

1. *La controverse sur la phonologie grecque au Collège des Trois Langues*

La fondation du Collège des Trois Langues, il y a cinq siècles, constitua une réaction louvaniste à un changement de paradigme en Occident. Paradoxalement, elle est à inscrire parmi les faits qui ont arrêté la montée du grec à la Renaissance et qui ont réduit la place de la langue et de la culture grecque dans la société occidentale. Dans le titre de cet article nous avons repris le nom de deux opposants dans le cadre de la réception du grec en Occident, le juriste Jean Reuchlin et le linguiste Didier Érasme. Tous deux étaient cités quotidiennement au Collège des Trois Langues, précisément à cause de leur vue différente sur la phonologie grecque. Reuchlin parlait le grec des émigrés de Constantinople et défendait leur façon de le prononcer, alors qu'Érasme, dans son *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* de 1528, indiquait sans équivoque qu'il fallait prononcer le grec à l'ancienne, comme on le faisait dans l'Antiquité : pour lui il s'agissait d'une langue morte. Leurs controverses dépassaient la phonologie. Elles reflétaient deux visions opposées concernant la réception de la culture grecque au seizième siècle. Comme

juriste épris du modèle de Constantinople, Reuchlin défendait la réception de la culture grecque contemporaine de la Ville dans nos sociétés occidentales. Érasme était le protagoniste du bannissement de cette influence grecque de la vie de tous les jours et de sa réduction à l'étude de la langue antique. Le premier était juriste, le second se concentrait sur les langues antiques. L'opposition entre les deux facultés a joué un rôle aux débuts du Collège des Trois Langues. Ce dernier n'a jamais rompu avec la faculté de droit. De grands professeurs de droit du dix-septième siècle, comme Tuldenus, y ont été formés. Trois professeurs de droit du dix-septième y ont enseigné avant de passer à la faculté de droit, notamment Corselius, Zoesius et Stockmans[1]. Mais comment cette controverse persistante sur la phonologie s'explique-t-elle à partir de la différence entre la pensée juridique de Reuchlin et l'étude des langues classiques d'Érasme ?

2. *Le droit gréco-romain à la faculté de droit de Louvain*

Dès le départ en 1425, le droit grec a pris une place importante à la faculté de droit de Louvain[2]. Le fondateur de la faculté, Philippe le Bon, était empreint du régime juridique de Constantinople. Il avait rendu plusieurs visites à la capitale de l'Empire et de l'Europe, qui, malgré les guerres ottomanes, était au début du quinzième siècle toujours un haut-lieu inégalé de la culture romaine. En réunissant les territoires des Pays-Bas, Philippe le Bon était devenu le prince d'un patchwork de juridictions, dont le régime était différent dans chaque ville et dans chaque village. En tant que prince de ces 'Pays de Par-Deça' il ne disposait pas d'une armée centrale. Une intervention militaire commençait par un appel aux vassaux. La relation avec chacun d'eux était régie selon d'autres privilèges. Philippe le Bon conçut l'idée de faire de

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[1] Stevens et Waelkens 2014, p. 102-111 ; le livre ne comporte pas de notes. Pour l'ancienne faculté (1425-1797) les principales sources ont été le fond de l'ancienne faculté de droit conservé aux Archives du Royaume de Louvain, inscrit par l'Unesco au patrimoine culturel mondial, et la bibliographie mentionnée dans Brants 1906.

[2] Stevens et Waelkens 2014, p. 19-22. La fondation de la faculté de droit de Louvain est située dans l'histoire du droit romain dans Waelkens 2015, p. 107-119.

ses Pays-Bas une nation d'après le modèle romain de Constantinople, c'est-à-dire avec une administration centrale et une armée contrôlée par le monarque. Il se rendait compte de la valeur de la réglementation unique et de la monnaie unique qui permettaient aux Grecs d'exploiter selon les mêmes règles des propriétés agricoles depuis la Moldavie jusqu'à Chypre, et qui donnaient aux commerçants la possibilité de gérer selon les mêmes principes les flux de produits depuis Trébizonde jusqu'aux Balkans, depuis les ports arabes d'Alexandrie et de Jaffa jusqu'aux ancrages atlantiques de Cadiz et de Lisbonne. Un droit unique promeut toujours les échanges économiques. Ce que nous vivons actuellement dans l'Union européenne était visible au début du quinzième siècle dans la zone contrôlée par Constantinople.

Pour introduire un droit unique aux Pays-Bas, Philippe le Bon conçut un plan en trois phases[3]. (1) Il installa dans chacun de ses territoires des cours d'appel compétentes pour réformer les décisions des échevinages, les juridictions locales et citadines de ses principautés. Ainsi il fonda par exemple la Cour de Hollande en 1425 ou le Conseil de Brabant en 1430. Il appointa de nobles locaux comme conseillers dans ces cours d'appel, qui recevaient ainsi de l'ascendant sur les échevinages. (2) En 1425 il fonda la faculté de droit de Louvain, où l'on étudierait exclusivement le droit romain, le droit des Ῥωμαῖοι de Constantinople. Le grécisant Nicolas de Cues (Cusanus), à ce moment à Cologne, fut sollicité comme premier professeur[4]. Cusanus connaissait Constantinople, pour y avoir dirigé entre autres des légations du pape. Il refusa le poste de professeur de droit à Louvain, mais se chargea de trouver des candidats valables. Une fois que la faculté de droit fonctionnait à Louvain, les juges de cours d'appels et de tribunaux locaux furent envoyés à Louvain pour y recevoir une formation juridique. Les Bourguignons continuèrent cette politique. En 1500 toutes les instances judiciaires des Pays-Bas comptaient au moins un juriste de Louvain parmi leurs responsables. (3) Ensuite, Philippe le Bon fonda son conseil souverain suscep-

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[3] Conclusion obtenue après avoir lu les *Ordonnances de Philippe le Bon*, éditées par la Commission des anciennes lois et ordonnances de Belgique (Godding 2005 ; Cauchies 2010 ; 2013), et de Godding 1999.

[4] Sur la vie et l'œuvre de Cusanus, une bonne introduction se trouve chez Izbicki et Bellitto 2002.

tible de réformer les décisions des cours d'appels. Il deviendrait par la suite le Grand Conseil de Malines. Cette politique de Philippe le Bon pour réformer le droit de son pays selon le modèle gréco-romain et en faisant appel à une faculté de droit, n'était pas nouvelle. Un premier exemple se découvre au treizième siècle durant la reconquête de la Castille par Alphonse le Sage. Ce dernier fonda la faculté de droit de Palencia, déplacée ensuite à Valladolid, afin d'y développer le droit romain à la base de la nouvelle nation castillane. A l'époque de Philippe le Bon la même politique se retrouve à Cracovie pour la Pologne-Lituanie, à Turin pour le Piémont, à Fribourg pour le Breisgau, à Prague pour la Bohème, etc. Des facultés de droit fondées par le prince local y reçurent la mission d'étudier et de propager le droit romain de Constantinople.

En effet, les juristes comprenant le droit gréco-romain étaient rares et les facultés n'arrivaient pas à connaître à fond le droit impérial. La méconnaissance du grec persistait depuis le douzième siècle, l'époque à laquelle par les croisades la société occidentale découvrit Constantinople. Durant ce douzième siècle, confronté à un certain hermétisme de la jurisprudence impériale, on finit par se reporter sur l'étude des collections juridiques de Justinien, le dernier empereur qui eut fait composer un *corpus iuris* en latin. Cette étude de droit justinien a été entamée à Bologne et Paris. Il en est résulté le *ius commune* médiéval, le 'droit romain' typique des facultés de droit, lu en latin et avec en fond les idées du Moyen Âge. Ainsi par exemple à Paris on ajouta à ce droit les concepts de la pensée néoplatonicienne, qui n'avaient jamais été connus en Orient[5]. Le *ius commune* occidental, tel qu'il fut encore intro-

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[5] Cette thèse est déduite de trois constatations. (1) Au douzième siècle les théologiens parisiens assimilèrent la pensée néoplatoniste d'Augustin et de Denys l'Aréopagite. En passant par la raison d'Anselme de Cantorbéry et la méthode *per sic et non* d'Abélard, puis par la pensée néoplatoniste de Bonaventure et de Bacon et en suivant de là la *via antiqua* de Thomas d'Aquin, ils introduisirent la pensée 'réaliste' où les notions font partie de la réalité. (2) Dans le domaine du droit la notion est une nouveauté du douzième siècle. Ainsi par exemple des mots romains comme *dominium* ou *obligatio* n'indiquaient pas des notions juridiques, mais des relations sociales dont les juges devaient tenir compte. Vers le milieu du douzième siècle on constate toujours cette situation dans la *Summa decretorum* d'Huguccio de Pise. En lisant par contre les cours des canonistes parisiens de la seconde moitié du douzième siècle, comme la *Summa Honorii* ou la *Summa Lipsiensis* récemment éditées, on remarque la conceptualisation progressive du droit.

duit dans les nouvelles facultés de droit du quinzième siècle, divergeait considérablement du droit gréco-romain. Il n'avait ni son acuité ni son réalisme, mais il permit tout de même aux princes d'instaurer un régime juridique unique pareil à celui de l'empereur. Parti de l'étude des collections justiniennes, il est devenu 'le droit romain' universitaire de l'Occident. Le but des princes n'en était pas moins réalisé : les facultés de droit développèrent un *ius commune* en latin, un droit romain homogénéisé, en tout lieu pareil et qui servit à unifier le droit dans les nouvelles principautés. À la fin du Moyen Âge, ce droit commun, cousin bâtard du droit de Constantinople, était bien prisé. Les princes y jouaient le rôle de l'empereur, les évêques disposaient librement des biens ecclésiastiques et les citoyens recevaient les libertés civiles, antécédents de nos droits de l'homme. Les seuls lésés étaient les seigneurs féodaux, qu'on privait de leur juridiction souveraine en réintroduisant les cours d'appels typiques du droit romain. Les seigneurs féodaux furent cependant amadoués par le fait que les princes leur laissaient les revenus de leurs fiefs, tout en réduisant leurs devoirs militaires.

3. *L'impact de la migration grecque au quinzième siècle*

Dans la première moitié du quinzième siècle la situation changea notablement par la présence permanente de Grecs en Occident, qui y venaient propager la lutte contre les Ottomans. Les juristes ont toujours su que leur droit romain claudiquait et qu'il n'était pas le véritable droit impérial de Constantinople. Le 'vrai' droit romain des Grecs et la culture juridique grecque amenés par les

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Ainsi *dominium* devient un droit abstrait sur les choses et *obligatio* le principe d'être lié par le droit comme un bœuf par la corde. [La *Summa Huguccionis*, la *Summa Honorii* et la *Summa lipsiensis* sont éditées dans les *Monumenta iuris canonici*.] Nous avons analysé la conceptualisation du mariage vers la fin du douzième siècle dans Waelkens 2010. (3) Nous ne trouvons pas cette même vision sur les 'notions' juridiques au Levant. Voir par exemple l'œuvre du canoniste Théodore Balsamon (né à la fin des années 1130), dans Druwé 2015, p. 343-356, avec une ample bibliographie. Le platonisme et la controverse entre nominalistes et réalistes ne se trouvent pas au Levant avant Jean l'Italien, Jean Philopone, Nicéphore Blemmydes, Barlaam de Calabrie et Nicéphore Grégorias, des auteurs fortement influencés par l'Occident. Le platonisme y culminera sous Pléthon après son voyage en Occident. Voir Ierodiakonou et Bydén 2014. Sur la conversion de Pléthon au néoplatonisme voir Berger 2006, p. 79-97.

immigrés avaient donc le vent en poupe et jouissaient, partout en Occident, d'un grand prestige. Et puis, en 1453 arriva la chute de l'Empire. Des milliers de Grecs s'enfuirent vers le Nord et vers l'Occident, du moins ceux qui en avaient les moyens. Des fortunes se déplacèrent. Des armateurs, des négociants, des banquiers, de grands agriculteurs, des artistes, des artisans, des ingénieurs navals... se mirent au service de l'Occident. L'Italie – surtout Rome, Venise, Gênes, Naples et la Sicile – fut envahie par des émigrants. On les retrouvait également en grand nombre en Aragon et Castille, dans les ports méditerranéens français et au Portugal. Du midi ils rejoignirent Paris, l'Allemagne, les Pays-Bas, l'Angleterre...

En droit ils engendrèrent de nouvelles techniques juridiques, ce qui se remarque amplement dans le droit de la finance. Il y a tout un nouveau financement du commerce[6]. Les mêmes techniques amènent le financement de la guerre par des banquiers qui prenaient en gage des droits domaniaux et des *regalia*[7]. Ces nouvelles techniques financières s'expliquent difficilement si

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[6] Sur les nouvelles techniques introduites à cette époque, voir Druwé 2020. Nous viennent-elles du Levant ? Sur la possibilité de l'origine grecque du prêt à intérêt voir Van Hofstraeten 2016, p. 143 en n. 36. Vers la fin du quinzième siècle les techniques financières redessinent les routes commerciales. Au Moyen Âge le grand commerce était financé en grande partie par les 'Lombards' et autres sous-traitants de la Camera Apostolica qui avaient à envoyer de l'argent en Italie. Ils l'empruntaient à des négociants qui achetaient de la laine et des textiles au Nord, les vendaient sur les marchés italiens et remboursaient leurs créanciers en Italie. Ainsi la valeur des marchandises transportées du Nord vers l'Italie dépasse largement la valeur des marchandises chargées dans l'autre sens. Cette situation change après la chute de Constantinople. La valeur des marchandises transportées depuis la Méditerranée vers le Nord, qu'on ne pouvait financer avec les dîmes à envoyer en Italie, dépassait dans la plupart des cas la valeur des marchandises prises au retour. Apparemment en peu de temps une autre source de financement était devenue plus importante que la Camera Apostolica. Voir par exemple les chiffres donnés par Fryde 1974.

[7] Conclusion dictée par la constatation que dès cette époque, pour financer des opérations militaires, les princes italiens, les rois catholiques, l'empereur d'Allemagne, les Bourguignons, les Habsbourg... ne s'adressaient plus en première instance à leurs vassaux, mais à des banquiers privés. En cas de déconfiture du prince débiteur (comme ce fût le cas de Maximilien I, de Charles Quint, deux fois de Philippe II, etc.) leurs créanciers ne firent pas faillite, mais furent mis en possession de droits miniers, de péages, de revenus féodaux... La plus ancienne monographie connue dans l'histoire du droit fût précisément consacrée à Louvain aux sûretés réelles : Gabriel Mudaeus (1500-1560), *De pignoribus et hypothecis* (Mudaeus 1575).

on n'y voit pas un phénomène de l'immigration grecque. Si vers la fin du quinzième siècle la branche romaine de la Banque Chigi a été recapitalisée, cela n'a pu se faire que par des financiers grecs[8]. En 1453 la Banque de Saint-Georges à Gênes change de fond en comble sa politique financière sous l'égide d'un nouveau conseil des protecteurs où figurent les grands noms des commerçants génois qui ont fait fortune au Levant[9]. Encore en 1453 des Augsbourgeois, des Fugger, Voehlin et Welser, des marchands de textile appartenant à la fondation allemande de Venise, se transformèrent en agents de prêteurs grecs et se mirent à financer les princes[10]. Les Grecs amenèrent également en Occident la fonte

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[8] L'exemple de la Banque Chigi est emblématique pour la nouvelle situation créée vers 1500. Marino Chigi de Sienne, un banquier classique de l'époque qui prenait en sous-traitance des activités de la Camera Apostolica, envoya son fils Agostino (1465-1520) à Rome. En 1502 la branche romaine eut un capital de 8000 ducats. En 1520, à la mort d'Agostino, sa succession était estimée à 400 000 ducats. Elle était pourtant composée de 800 000 ducats de liquidités, de plus d'argenterie que ne possédait la noblesse romaine réunie, d'une centaine de navires, ainsi que de l'actif d'une centaine d'agences en Italie et de succursales à Constantinople, Alexandrie, Le Caire, Lyon, Londres et Anvers. Il n'avait en 1520 'que' un actif de 400 000 ducats, alors que déjà en 1519 ses seules mines d'alun lui eurent rapporté 300 000 ducats. Apparemment il avait été administrateur d'une société en commandite dont ses héritiers ne recueillirent qu'une partie des actifs. Qui étaient ses commanditaires ? Dans la seconde moitié du quinzième siècle les flottilles de bateaux renvoient toujours aux émigrés de Constantinople. Pour les faits concernant Agostino Chigi, voir Dante 1980.

[9] Sieveking 1906, p. 46 ; Giacchero 1979, p. 131 e.a. Il y a eu un projet de recherche à Leuven, géré par Matthias Castelein, concernant la reprise de la Corse en 1453 par la Banque de Saint-Georges qui venait d'être recapitalisée par des magnats génois rentrant du Levant. Nous espérons voir publiés bientôt les résultats de l'analyse de la jurisprudence souveraine de la banque de 1453 à 1562. Parmi les *protettori* (les administrateurs) de la banque, nous avons même trouvé un *Osmanus* : Arch. Gênes, BSG 18-607.2234, p. 131.

[10] La montée soudaine et spectaculaire de ces commerçants dans la haute finance ne s'explique pas aisément. Elle se situe vers 1453. On ne retrouve pas d'actes notariaux expliquant leur nouvel emporium : voir Ciriacy-Wantrup 2007. Un trait commun de ces trois grands noms se trouve dans le fait qu'en 1453 ils étaient membres du Fondaco Tedesco à Venise, où ils achetaient le coton pour leurs futaines et revendaient le produit fini. À Venise il était interdit aux étrangers de faire du commerce avec des non-Vénitiens. On peut très bien s'imaginer qu'ils s'y sont entendus avec des magnats immigrés de Constantinople et se sont engagés comme facteurs de ces derniers. La factorerie était la version grecque de l'*institoria* romaine, une forme d'association où le facteur travaille avec responsabilité limitée pour un principal. Sans l'accès à des capitaux et des bateaux appartenant à des tiers, les Augsbourgeois n'auraient jamais su rassembler en si peu de temps et en se lançant dans de nouvelles activités qui leur étaient étrangères, les moyens pour financer les guerres des empereurs allemands.

de canons et la forge d'armes à main. Tolède, l'Erzgebirge et la Carinthie remplaceront les fondeurs de canons de Constantinople et les forgerons d'Anatolie. La région de Séville remplaça les poudriers du Levant. En 1453 les soieries étaient introduites à Lyon, les damasseries de lin en Flandres, la filature et le tissage de coton à Baeza et Úbeda en Andalousie. Les ingénieurs grecs apprirent comment construire des navires de guerre et comment construire des καράβια, ces excellents cargos de haute mer maitrisables par seulement quinze hommes, et des caraques de marine[11]. Des négociants immigrés cherchaient à rétablir leurs contacts en Asie en contournant l'Afrique. Ils essayèrent d'implanter les cultures qui avaient nourri leur commerce depuis des siècles : le coton et le lin d'Anatolie et d'Égypte, les pistaches de Perse, les châtaignes d'Inde, les mûriers de Chine, les arbres à mastique de Chios, la canne à sucre de Chypre, pour ne nommer que quelques produits de l'emporium de Constantinople que nous avons observés en Andalousie et en Corse à la recherche de traces de l'influence grecque au quinzième siècle.

Pour les Occidentaux les émigrés grecs représentaient un monde à copier. Ils étaient le prototype de gens dont on reprend les valeurs : actifs, riches, ayant des connaissances techniques, brillants et cultivés, épris de santé et de beauté. En effet, les have-not étaient restés en Orient. La culture grecque était effectivement copiée. L'influence de Constantin Lascaris à Milan et à Messine n'est plus à rappeler, ni celle de Théodore Gaza à Ferrare et Naples, de Michel l'Apôtre, Zacharie Calliergi, Jean Lascaris et Georges de Trébizonde à Rome, de Jean Argyropole et de Démétrius Chalcondyles à Florence, et puis de ceux qui sont partis vers le Nord : Andronic Calliste à Londres, Jean Servopole à Oxford, Georges Hermonyme et Grégoire Typhernas à Paris, etc. Ils continuèrent de vivre leur culture grecque en Occident. Anna Notara fonda une maison d'édition grecque à Venise pour éditer des publications grecques contemporaines. Les premiers livres grecs qu'Aldo Manuzio imprima dans la même ville furent également des ouvrages contemporains. Il prévoyait un marché suffisant pour imprimer chaque mois un nouveau titre grec.

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[11] Voir Nowacki et Valeriani 2003. Pour la construction de caraques l'Arsenal de Venise ouvrit son nouveau bassin géant en... 1460.

Au Brabant le développement du port d'Anvers a été également provoqué par les Grecs. Les armateurs et les commerçants immigrés de Gênes, de Séville et surtout de Lisbonne recherchaient un entrepôt en mer du Nord, de préférence où leur droit commercial serait accepté. Ils vendaient les produits génériques au moyen d'obligations strictes, de stipulations, et vendaient à terme au plus offrant, par l'organisation de bourses de marchandises. Leurs banquiers pratiquaient ce qu'on appelle maintenant le *merchant banking*, avec des sécurités flottantes, des *floating charges*, et l'engagement de factures. Ils utilisèrent les traites à trois et à quatre parties. Ils promurent l'acceptation du prêt à intérêt. Ils utilisèrent les obligations strictes dans la finance en endossant tout genre de papiers de valeur qu'ils transmettaient en bourse au plus offrant. Les agents des armateurs et des commerçants engagèrent leurs 'principaux' avec une responsabilité limitée, selon le régime de la factorerie. Toutes ces techniques étaient malvenues à Bruges et à Dunkerque, qui au quatorzième siècle avaient été soumis à la juridiction du Parlement de Paris. À Londres le droit commercial était royal et géré au profit des Anglais. En revanche, dans le port brabançon d'Anvers, qui était difficile d'accès, le duc Philippe le Bon garantissait l'application du droit romain introduit par sa faculté de droit de Louvain. Dans les années 1470 toute une nation grecque s'installa à Anvers et y développa le commerce régi par le droit gréco-romain. Les archives de cette nation grecque ont été regroupées principalement à Torre do Tombo, aux archives nationales du Portugal. Grand problème pour les chercheurs de notre Département d'histoire du droit : elles sont composées en grec et la ville où il faut entamer sa recherche chante en portugais.

Le juriste Jean Reuchlin de Pforzheim était attiré par cette révolution de la société occidentale provoqué par les arrivants. Il apprit la langue grecque chez Andronic Contablas à Bâle, chez Hermonyme à Paris et chez Chalcondyles à Milan. Il le prononçait comme eux. En Italie il fréquenta également les immigrés juifs. Constantinople avait été la ville juive la plus importante du Moyen Âge et bon nombre d'immigrés venus en Italie – ainsi qu'en Espagne – y amenèrent une riche culture hébraïque. A partir de 1492 Reuchlin entama l'étude de l'hébreu. Il était particulièrement intéressé par les œuvres de rabbins médiévaux, dans lesquels il trouva un mélange de théologie, de sagesse et de

pratique juridique. En 1506 il édita son *De rudimentis hebraicis* susceptible d'aider les Occidentaux à découvrir la richesse de la culture hébraïque orientale. Érasme restait plus froid à cet égard. La différence d'attitude des deux grands humanistes est frappante. Érasme avait appris le grec en partie chez les mêmes maîtres que Reuchlin, comme Georges Hermonyme à Paris, et il connaissait la prononciation du grec contemporain, mais ne se laissa pas enthousiasmer par les idées nouvelles. Il ne persévéra pas dans l'étude de l'hébreu et pressentit un changement de paradigme dans les études grecques. En effet, vers 1500 il était devenu clair que la réception des valeurs grecques n'était pas sans problèmes et à ce propos Érasme se montra plus réaliste que Reuchlin. Là où Reuchlin rêvait de transplanter la richesse culturelle de Constantinople en Occident, Érasme s'inquiétait des bouleversements provoqués par la réception de la culture grecque et par les guerres endémiques causées par la chute de Constantinople.

4. *Les bouleversements provoqués*
par la réception de nouveaux principes juridiques

En effet, deux grands problèmes importés de Constantinople bouleversèrent l'Occident : l'absolutisme et le protestantisme. Les Grecs immigrés rêvaient de reconquérir Constantinople. Des centaines de personnes instruites, à l'image de Basile Bessarion ou Isidore de Kiev, prêchèrent la croisade. Ils dénonçaient la féodalité occidentale, qui avait rendu les princes dépendant de leurs vassaux pour gérer et financer la guerre, et promouvaient l'image grecque de l'αὐτοκράτωρ. Avec leurs techniques financières qui faisaient appel à l'épargne [12], les Grecs savaient avancer les sommes énormes nécessaires à tout prince décidant seul de faire la guerre. Ils géraient une propagande destinée à reconquérir le Levant [13]. Cette propagande a été dévastatrice. Au lieu

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[12] Cf. *supra* et n. 7 ; on peut difficilement s'imaginer que des banquiers puisèrent dans leur caisse les sommes colossales prêtées à Maximilien d'Autriche, Ferdinand d'Aragon, Charles Quint, François 1er et tant d'autres. Il faut en déduire qu'ils replaçaient les dettes souveraines auprès d'investisseurs et d'épargnants.

[13] Voir par exemple Harris 2006, p. 91-97 et Maltezou 2006, p. 99-105 avec bibliographie. Il y en a eu d'autres que Bessarion et Kiev : voir par exemple Gray 1929. Le banquet du faisan, organisé par Philippe le Bon à Lille en 1454, a été une conséquence de cette propagande.

de promouvoir la reprise de Constantinople, elle sema la guerre en Europe, entraînant des dizaines de nouveaux autocrates dans des guerres sans fin. Dans le courant de la seconde moitié du quinzième siècle, l'Italie s'était transformée en un champ de bataille. Au début du seizième siècle le feu passa les Alpes et embrasa tout l'Occident. Il restera incontrôlable jusqu'à la fin du siècle. Des Grecs étaient impliqués dans les guerres à l'ouest. Aussi bien l'Angleterre que la France engagèrent des ingénieurs grecs pour se doter d'une force navale[14]. Il est remarquable que durant les sièges du port stratégique de Boulogne des Grecs se battaient des deux côtés : au siège de 1492 les Français perdirent leur amiral Georges le Grec et le siège de 1546 fut gagné pour les Anglais par Thomas d'Argos et ses 'stratiotes' hellènes (voir Pappas s. d.). Le deuxième problème créé par les immigrés fut religieux. La plupart des Grecs étaient orthodoxes et ne changeaient rien à leurs convictions en Occident, alors qu'il leur manquait patriarches, évêques et théologiens. Ainsi ils amenèrent le premier presbytérianisme, mais également le rite en langue vernaculaire, l'acceptation des prêtres mariés, la reconnaissance du divorce et la haine du pape. Ils semèrent en Occident les germes du protestantisme. Aux archives du Phanar à Constantinople on trouve des documents où il apparaît que le patriarche œcuménique suivait l'évolution du protestantisme et hésitait à décider quelle nouvelle église occidentale se trouvait la plus proche de la religion grecque[15]. En Occident, le protestantisme ajouta à la confusion et provoqua de nouvelles guerres, les guerres de religion.

Les premiers à réagir contre le débordement de la culture grecque furent les rois catholiques en Espagne. Ils imposèrent la culture et le rite latin aux immigrés, tant aux orthodoxes qu'aux hébraïques. Parmi les *conversos* on retrouve les deux[16]. Partout

[14] Les premières caraques destinées à l'amirauté furent construites sous Henry VII ; sur les principes grecs appliqués dans cette construction voir Nowacki et Valeriani 2003. Pour la France voir Bruneau 1966. La marine construite par Charles VIII et Louis XI a largement profité des services de Georgios Palaiologos Dyshypatos, Georges 'le Grec' de Bissipat (Renet 1889).

[15] Conclusion tirée d'une discussion avec l'historien Vasilios Meichanetsidis. Nous n'avons pas encore vu les documents.

[16] Une erreur classique consiste à considérer les *conversos* comme des juifs convertis. La province de Jaen a reçu beaucoup d'immigrants. Dans la ville de Jaen plusieurs couvents basiliens ont trouvé refuge. Dans cette province, Úbeda

en Europe, dès le début du seizième siècle, la combinaison des guerres politiques et des problèmes de religion divisa les universitaires. Les Grecs étaient dorénavant considérés comme des fauteurs de troubles, leur influence contestée. Dans une réaction peu critique, mais portée par l'autodéfense de l'Occident, la culture grecque était redéfinie comme une culture démocratique – et donc contraire à l'absolutisme et l'autocratie. On trouve ce développement clairement présent dans les *Six livres de la République* (1576) de Jean Bodin, dont l'auteur essaie de réécrire l'histoire dans le but de relativiser l'absolutisme du roi de France. Athènes y reprend le rôle de Constantinople et la république démocratique de Thucydide y est inventée aux dépens de l'autocratie. En 1577, dans son *Corpus historiae Byzantinae*, Jérôme Wolf rebaptise Constantinople en 'Byzance', cette ancienne colonie de notre propre Rome, une colonie que les Grecs n'ont même pas su garder. En même temps la culture grecque était refoulée vers l'époque préchrétienne, où elle ne risquait plus d'interférer avec la catholicité.

Reuchlin restait épris des Grecs, de leur culture et de leur droit, mais il en fut inquiété. Dès 1509 il fut attaqué dans les milieux impériaux, en particulier pour avoir trop propagé la culture hébraïque. En 1513 il fut sommé devant un tribunal de l'inquisition. Le cas serait résolu à son avantage en 1520.

Le déclin de la sympathie des juristes pour le droit grec a été bien illustré par la situation à l'université de Bourges, qui était sous le contrôle des rois de France. Dans les années 1520 François Ier y attira encore comme professeur de droit grec André Alciat, un élève de Démétrius Chalcondyles et de Jean Lascaris. Alciat y proféra cependant un cours des plus classiques, dans la lignée bartoliste de son maître milanais Jason de Mayno. Il ne se

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et Baeza ont été fondées comme deux nouvelles villes, construites dans le style renaissance de Constantinople et consacrées à l'industrie du coton. La jurisprudence locale a été étudiée par Porras Arboledas 2008. On y découvre que la plupart des *conversos* n'étaient pas des *judeoconversos*, mais des chrétiens orthodoxes. On peut étendre cette constatation à deux *conversos* célèbres dans le Nord, Vitoria et Vives. Vives était clairement de tradition juive. Le dominicain Vitoria par contre a une pensée fort différente et apparaît plutôt comme étant un ancien basilien. Dans sa célèbre étude sur les antécédents de la Société de Jésus, Maryks 2010 répète la confusion classique qui consiste à considérer tous les *conversos* comme des juifs convertis.

risqua plus à aucune propagande pour la grécité. Dans ses cours on ne retrouve aucune trace de Constantinople. Au milieu du siècle Jacques Cujas rejoignit Bourges et prit possession de la chaire de droit grec. Il n'y étudia plus que des textes juridiques grecs de l'Antiquité, en faisant abstraction d'un siècle de réception du droit constantinopolitain. Encore dix ans plus tard François Hotman, dans son *Antitribonien* de 1567, envoya tous les juristes grecs au diable. Pour lui le droit serait français ou ne serait pas.

5. *Le Collège des Trois Langues*

À Louvain la réaction contre la culture grecque fut précoce. Dès 1492 la ville et l'université avaient vécu la mauvaise expérience du nouvel empire à la grecque, lors de la répression des révoltes des Pays-Bas par l'empereur Maximilien d'Autriche. Durant les premières décennies du seizième siècle les juristes observaient encore les bienfaits du droit commun introduit dans les Pays-Bas et du commerce maritime. Il n'était cependant plus question d'exalter Constantinople. La fondation du Collège des Trois Langues fut à l'image de la politique de l'université. La Grèce serait antique et préchrétienne et les études grecques et hébraïques seraient – à la limite – bibliques. Elles ne seraient plus focalisées sur le droit et les institutions, mais sur les langues. Érasme soutint la politique du Collège avec des ouvrages comme sa phonologie grecque. La poursuite de l'étude de la linguistique grecque et l'hébreu permit à l'université de continuer l'étude de la logique de la renaissance et du renouveau de l'Occident, sans réveiller toutefois les diables grecs qui sévirent en Europe jusqu'au dix-septième siècle. Et là, dans l'environnement du Collège des Trois Langues, le juriste grécisant Reuchlin fut dépassé par le linguiste Érasme, qui, tel un diplomate, a promu toute sa vie la paix en Occident. Pour ce faire il était prêt à passer de l'ordre social à l'ordre de la langue et prêt à accepter de nombreux compromis, même dans la science[17].

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[17] Nous remercions Wouter Druwé (KU Leuven) et Mme Frédérique Donnay pour les amendements qu'ils ont suggérés d'apporter à une première version de cette contribution.

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Abstract

The foundation of the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain reaches beyond the study of the three classical languages. In the West the Fall of Constantinople had provoked a massive immigration of influential Greeks fleeing the Ottoman regime. In the long run they destabilized Western societies and changed the West into a battlefield. Johannes Reuchlin tried to integrate the Greek ideas, institutions, and trading principles of the Greek immigrants into the Latin culture. Erasmus was more careful. He tried to canalize the Greek culture into the study of the *artes* and antiquity. In this article I try to briefly describe the effects of the Greek immigrants coming from Constantinople and the manner in which the problem was addressed in Louvain.

Résumé

La fondation du Collège des Trois Langues à Louvain dépassa largement le cadre de l'étude des langues classiques. La chute de Constantinople et l'immigration massive de Grecs influents déstabilisa l'Occident. Le juriste Reuchlin cherchait à donner une place aux idées et aux institutions juridiques et commerciales des immigrés qui amenèrent la Renaissance. Érasme de son côté cherchait à canaliser l'envahissante culture grecque dans les lettres et dans l'étude de l'Antiquité. Dans cet article nous avons essayé de décrire brièvement les remous provoqués par la culture grecque de Constantinople et les réponses apportées à Louvain.